

Discussion Draft

Historical Profile of the Southern Nova Scotia Area's Mixed European-Indian Ancestry Community

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DISCUSSION DRAFT

*This report is still in draft form. It has not yet been fully
edited or properly formatted.*

submitted to Justice February 2005
formatted for PDF June 2005



Research and
Statistics Division

&

Aboriginal Law and
Strategic Policy Group

*The views expressed in this report are those of the author and do
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Abstract

With the Supreme Court of Canada decision in *R. v. Powley* [2003] 2 S.C.R., Métis were recognized as having an Aboriginal right to hunt for food as recognized under section 35 of the *Constitution Act*, 1982. In consequence, Justice Canada developed a research program designed to explore the history related to possible Métis ethnogenesis and the imposition of 'effective European control' in selected sites across Canada. Through the use of archival and published documents, this paper explores one of the selected geographic areas; the Southern region of Nova Scotia. This study examined the social history, demographic, and genealogical background of the Southern Nova Scotia European-Indian ancestry population, the distinctive cultural practices of the European-Indian ancestry group, and some possible indicators of 'effective European control'. A detailed, chronological and thematic, historical narrative dating from the 17th century to the 19th century is presented, along with a discussion surrounding certain concepts utilized in *Powley*.

Author's Biographies

Kenneth Brown has been an associate with Public History Inc. (www.publichistory.ca) for six years. His academic qualifications are a BA, (with Distinction), from the University of Manitoba in 1987, an MA in North American History from McGill University in 1991 and an MA in Library and Information Science from the University of Western Ontario in 1992. Ken has extensive research expertise in Aboriginal history. He was the author of this report.

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A Historical Profile of the Southern Nova Scotia Area's Mixed European-Indian Ancestry Community

2.0 Introduction

This research was undertaken to provide a historical profile, if it existed at all, of Southern Nova Scotia's mixed European-Indian community. The study area is defined as the southeast shore of Nova Scotia and its hinterlands, from the area surrounding Yarmouth, N.S., to the area surrounding Lunenburg. The main time period studied started at the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 and culminated with the settlement of the Loyalists, around 1790. The earlier period of French control in Acadia was also examined, mostly through secondary sources.

Extensive secondary readings on the history of colonial Nova Scotia were undertaken, and primary research was done at the Library and Archives Canada, the Public Archives of Nova Scotia and the Acadian Studies Centre in Moncton, New Brunswick, as well as small repositories in the study area.

The report is not structured in a strictly chronological manner because of the nature of the material. There were no mixed-ancestry communities that could be followed in a chronological manner.

This paper begins with a review of the secondary literature. It was placed at the beginning of the paper in order to provide context and to highlight the limitations of past and contemporary academic work in this field. The analysis of secondary literature will be followed by a brief history of Acadia, including its aboriginal peoples, the French settlement and the British conquest. Included will be an analysis of British and French attitudes towards intermarriage with Indians, and the observations of those in the colony on mixed-ancestry people found there. The paper will then focus upon the study area, and the possible existence of mixed-ancestry communities.

"Mixed-Ancestry" in the context of this paper refers to those of both European and Indian descent. For the most part, this refers to people of French and Mi'kmaq descent, as the Mi'kmaq were the only aboriginal group in the study area, and until 1760 the French were the only settlers. This may be an oversimplification, as a few French settlers had married Abenakis from what is now New Brunswick, and many Acadians had ancestors from the Low Countries, Germany and the British Isles. Generally the term Mi'kmaq or Abenaki will be used as the case may be. Indian will be used in cases where the particular group is not clear, or where a case applies to both groups.¹

"Intermarriage" in this paper refers to the producing of children between those of Aboriginal and those of European descent, whether or not the Church or civic authorities sanctioned the union. This paper will not use any term for people of mixed ancestry, including "Métis," "Halfbreed," or any other, unless they specifically appear in sources being cited. There was no accepted word for people of

¹ In the study area, the Mi'kmaq were generally considered to be members of the Cape Sable band (Charles Lawrence to the Lords of Trade, August 1, 1754, A-020, LAC, MG 11, CO 217, Vol. 15, H.256, f. 84, Reel B-1026; Gaston du Boisq de Beaumont, *Les Derniers Jours de L'Acadie, 1748-1758: Correspondences et Mémoires* (1899; reprint, Geneva: 1975), 85), but there were also bands at Port Royal (C-007, MG 1, Series CHB, Vol. 1, ff. 249-254) and La Have. Furthermore, during the wars of 1744-1760 there were also a number of Indians from outside Nova Scotia who entered the colony and perhaps the study area as well. The affiliation of Mi'kmaq encountered in the forests was usually not known.

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mixed-ancestry in Nova Scotia at the time under study, although many later authors have attempted to apply such terminology to that place and time.

“Acadia,” in the context of this paper, refers to all French possessions in what are today the Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick. It should be kept in mind that the boundaries of Acadia, particularly those located in what is now New Brunswick, were never certain and were always in dispute. The term “Nova Scotia” was coined at the time of the initial grant by the King of Scotland, but Nova Scotia’s status as a colony of Britain was always nebulous until the Treaty of Utrecht.² The Acadians are the French-speaking, Roman Catholic inhabitants of Acadia, who were almost always descendants of French colonists. French, as used in this paper, refers to the French Regime and its officials in the colony; also to France’s military, governmental and clerical officials outside of Acadia. Canadians are the French inhabitants of France’s colonies along the St. Lawrence River. In this paper, “Nova Scotia” refers to the territory under British control. From 1713 until 1763 it includes the peninsular portion of Nova Scotia, and the Isthmus of Chignecto.³ It does not include Cape Breton Island (Ile Royale). After 1763, Cape Breton Island and New Brunswick were part of Nova Scotia. New Brunswick remained part of Nova Scotia until it was separated in 1784.

The area in which our research was focused on, from Yarmouth to Lunenburg, will be referred to in the paper as the “study area.” It was found to be impossible, however, to limit our research entirely to the study area. For one thing, the non-Indian population of the whole area in the period before 1760 was very small; numbering perhaps 50 families in total. The number of Mi’kmaq in the study area was also small, and although not known for certain, it was thought that there were less than 1,000. Sometimes the number estimated was less than 200. Except for Lunenburg, which was established in 1753, there was no continuous official presence in the study area, and it was neglected for long periods of time. Furthermore, the study area was not completely isolated from the rest of the colony, and French inhabitants and Mi’kmaq frequently passed into and out of it. Most of the Acadians who lived in the study area had relatives who lived in the main Acadian settlements on the Bay of Fundy. Therefore, an understanding of Acadian history as a whole is necessary for an understanding of the study area.

2.1 Methodological Notes

Primary and secondary research was undertaken to examine the issues discussed in the terms of reference for this study.

Public History Incorporated cited no works that we had previously created for other clients.

² The Treaty of Utrecht, concluded between Britain and France on April 11, 1713, was one of a series of treaties that ended the War of Spanish Succession, which had started in 1702. Under the terms of the Treaty, France agreed to major territorial concessions in North America. Apart from ceding Acadia to Britain, France dropped its claims to the Hudson’s Bay watershed and to Newfoundland (*The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Year 2000 Edition (Toronto: 2000), 2433.)

³ The Isthmus of Chignecto, which is approximately 25 kilometres wide, separates Chignecto Bay in the Bay of Fundy from Baie Verte in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The isthmus served as the *de facto* boundary between French Acadia and British Nova Scotia after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 (the official boundary was never agreed upon). The Acadian settlement of Beaubassin was located there, as were Fort Beausejour (later Fort Cumberland) and its British rival, Fort Lawrence. The isthmus now serves as the boundary between the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Each historical fact, from either a primary or secondary source, was cited according to the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th Edition.

We did not include oral history material in the report as stipulated in the terms of reference. We did not attempt to define “effective political control, or precise political boundaries. We did, however, provide “possible indicia” of European influence in the study region. Also, we did not link present-day communities to the communities evident in the historical record. No attempt was made to determine if a population was a legal Métis community.

2.2 Note on Sources

Research on this paper is hampered by a certain lack of sources not seen in other research. Nova Scotia, from its earliest founding until the expulsion of the Acadians, was a battlefield and record keeping in such a situation was a hazardous undertaking. Also, during both the French and British regimes the administration of the colony was chronically underfunded, and the governors lacked the means to establish firmer control. For one thing, there was no Department of the Interior, and no government agents who passed through the study area on a regular basis. There were no British settlers, which would have stimulated the British Government’s interest in the area. For the most part, British officials in Nova Scotia were soldiers, and spent most of their time huddled in the garrisons, looking to their own survival instead of observing what was going on amongst the Acadians.

The British forces were in a virtual state of war (and for long periods it was an actual state of war) with the Indians for the entire time that they occupied Nova Scotia prior to 1760. There was no Department of Indian Affairs, with professional bureaucrats writing reports on their aboriginal charges. Most of what was written about them was in the form of military intelligence, and there was little of that as the only ones to notice the movement of Indians through British territory were the Acadian settlers, and the British doubted their allegiance. In fact, some British observers considered the Acadians as a whole to be one people with Indians, due to their ties of consanguinity.

The main primary resource available for consultation is the correspondence with the Colonial Department in the French Regime, and the Colonial Office files for the British Period. Neither the British nor the French documents contained much information useful for this topic, as correspondence on military matters predominated. The French correspondence is focussed on New England, and the British correspondence on the Chignecto Isthmus, where the British looked across the frontier at the French troops in Fort Beausejour. The main records are the Colonial Office files held in the Public Record Office in London. Microfilm copies of these documents are held by Library and Archives Canada. The most useful series was CO 217, which consists of correspondence between Nova Scotia and London. Time restraints did not permit use of the entire series, so instead certain years were sampled. It was decided to concentrate on the earliest periods of British occupation, when the British administrators were conducting their initial inventories of their new colony, and on the period after 1748, which included such major events as the founding of Halifax and Lunenburg, the Seven Years War and the expulsion of the Acadians. No records were found which discussed specific mixed-

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ancestry communities, although some documents where the author comments on the mixed-ancestry origins of the Acadians as a whole were discovered.⁴

Another useful record group is CO 220, which contains the minutes of the Executive Council in Nova Scotia from 1720 until 1800. Useful documents were found concerning the wish of certain settlers to settle at Chebogue, a squadron of New England ships which alarmed those of mixed-ancestry in the Bay of Fundy area, the settlers of Mirliguesche who wished to settle at Lunenburg upon their return from Cape Breton Island, and documents concerning the expulsions from Cape Sable and the wish of Acadians to return to Nova Scotia after the expulsions.

Assisting the research, in the form of an index, was the National Archives Report for 1894, which provided summaries of the documents held in CO 217 and other sources. This was very useful, but the problem was that in at least one known case, reference to mixed-ancestry people was made in the original document, a report by Governor Vetch on November 24, 1714. That document's summary in the 1894 National Archives report, however, made no mention of the fact. The PAC report for 1887 performed a similar function for French Colonial documents. Particularly useful is MG 1, Series G1, Vol. 466, which contains a number of censuses for the late 17th and early 18th century.

The censuses, however, are not perfect. While censuses for Port Royal seem quite complete, those for the outlying areas are sketchy, and are sometimes not included at all. Some people disappear in these censuses, only to reappear later. It is never entirely clear if the person or family actually moved or was he just missed. Moreover, people at this time mistrusted census takers, for they feared, often with good reason, that the census was linked to taxation, and that the less they told the enumerator the better.

One of the most useful censuses of Acadia, however, is found not in the Archives in Paris, but at the Newberry Library of Chicago. This is a 1708 census; probably the last before the fall to the British in 1710. This census includes three French settlements, labelled as such, at La Have, Cape Sable and Point Razoir, and it includes the Indian population for these places and others. Of particular interest is that the families of Indians are named, which is unusual. In most cases where the Indian population is discussed, rough estimates of numbers are usually all that is provided. Of course, the Indians provide special problems when populations are estimated, for, as Janet Chute notes, the Indians were not sedentary, so a census taker would have completely different results at the same place, depending on the time of year a census was taken.

Thomas Aikins published a number of documents found in the Colonial Office files, as well as other places, in *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia*, which was published in 1869. The value of this collection is that it is readily accessible, and that the documents were transcribed. In some cases, however, the source and context of a document has been omitted, and it is not clear who wrote it. Furthermore, a number of documents were edited, and it is not clear what was eliminated. What may not have been relevant to Akins may have been relevant to us.

⁴ The Seven Years War, which has sometimes been described as perhaps the first global war, involved almost all of Europe. Outside of Europe, France and Britain fought for control of North America, India and the West Indies. Under the terms of the Treaty of Paris (1763) France ceded all of its North American possessions to Britain, except for Louisiana, which went to Spain (*The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2144-2145).

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Another valuable source is the Andrew Brown Collection. Andrew Brown was a Scottish clergyman who resided in Nova Scotia for much of the late 18th century. While in the colony he had access to a number of official documents, which he transcribed for use in a planned history of Nova Scotia. Around 1800 he returned to Britain, but unfortunately he was unable to write the proposed history. Many years after his death in 1834, his transcriptions were found in a building that was about to be demolished, and they were subsequently purchased by the British Museum in 1852, where the originals still reside. In the early 20th century the Public Archives of Canada sent staff to the British Museum to copy his documents; later microfilms were made.

The value of the Brown collection is that it contains transcriptions of a number of documents that no longer exist, and would have been completely lost without his efforts. An example of this is the journal of Charles Lawrence, which contains important entries on the founding of Lunenburg in 1753. The Public Archives of Nova Scotia published this journal in 1953. Brebner cautioned that Brown cannot be completely relied upon, and that whatever he wrote was to be checked with other sources, but in many cases these other sources no longer exist.

Brown was very interested in the Acadians and the expulsions, and was perhaps one of the first authors who were. He collected a number of accounts of the expulsions, as well as Acadian life before and after. Included is a rather lengthy statement on the Acadians by Moses De le Dernier, a Swiss colonist who lived among the Acadians prior to the expulsions, but who stayed in Nova Scotia afterwards. Interestingly, Brown never seemed to have actually interviewed an Acadian on the subject. Brown annotated a number of his transcriptions, and in the case of a document concerning the expulsions at Cape Sable, made interesting comments concerning the mixed-ancestry of a prominent family. Brebner, in his discussion of Brown, warned that Brown was given to over-sentimentality, and had a tendency to idealize the Acadians prior to the expulsions, but again, Brown is the only source for much of this material.

Much of what is contained in the Brown Collection concerns military matters, and his series of the papers of Paul Mascarene, the Lieutenant Governor, are particularly disappointing in this respect, not seeming to contain anything useful with regards to his relationship with the French inhabitants of the colony. Mascarene, of Boston, was the son of French Protestants, and was fluently bilingual. It is known that he had a number of contacts among the French colonial authorities, and it is even known that he corresponded with Le Loutre, the infamous soldier/missionary who led the Indians on a number of raids against the British, but little was found in the Brown Collection.

A microfilm reel of Mascarene's personal correspondence was produced by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and was borrowed from the main library of the University of Western Ontario, the only known holder of the reel in Canada. Unfortunately, the reel contained only personal correspondence, most of which was written in Boston.

A number of Public Archives of Nova Scotia files were identified by researchers in Ottawa, for potential information relating to the Mixed-Ancestry in Nova Scotia project. These files were forwarded to a researcher in Halifax, in order to be reviewed. A number of specific documents were also identified to be collected for the researchers in Ottawa. A list of specific terms and names were provided to the researcher in Halifax, as well as communication between the researchers in Ottawa

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provided adequate information for the identification and collection of other documents not listed.
Record Groups reviewed included:

RG 1: Nova Scotia Public Records, 1624-1867

RG 5: Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia

RG 20: Lands and Forests (Land Papers)

MG 1: Personal and Family Papers

MG 4: Churches and Communities

MG 15: Ethnic Groups

The majority of the files reviewed were on reels, and while the quality of most reels was good, there were some reels where the documents were not numbered, nor were they in very good condition. This proved to be a challenge, however, most of the documents identified to be collected were successfully found. A number of the files were also in French, and these were reviewed as well for relevant information. Consultation with the Archivists at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia also provided information for other sources of information, and this information was passed along to the research team in Ottawa.

As for memoirs, there are very few written by British officers in Nova Scotia. John Winslow, the officer who directed the expulsion of the Acadians in the settled portion of the Colony left journals that have been published in two books: one on his participation in the siege of Fort Beausejour in 1755, and the other on his role in the expulsions. There was no relevant material in either of them. The same is true of the journals of Josiah Winslow and Abidah Willard, other officers who briefly took part in military campaigns in Nova Scotia.

Perhaps the only military memoir with relevant material was that of Captain John Knox, who was stationed at Port Royal in 1757, and who remained there for the next year fighting against the Indians and the Acadians who were resisting expulsion. Later he was present at Wolfe's capture of Quebec. Knox's journal, entitled *An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759 and 1760*, is perhaps the only surviving first person account of the Acadian resistance, which makes the first of his three volumes particularly useful. Knox even stated that he possessed a list of those settlers at Port Royal who went into the woods to avoid the British, but that he was not publishing the list because he did not feel it to be of any use! He describes meeting two Mi'kmaq, brother and sister, whom he believes to be part European. In his third volume, he also mentioned how ironic it seemed to him, just after the capture of Montreal, on the difference of the situation in 1757. At that time, he wrote, the British were thought to be masters of Nova Scotia, but in reality they were virtual prisoners behind the walls of their forts, while the French and the Indians wandered at will. The Champlain Society published an annotated edition of Knox's journals in the 1910s.

Published work of many of the French personalities involved was also consulted. Samuel Champlain's memoirs have been published by the Champlain society, in a translated and annotated form, as have the works of Marc Lescarbot, a lawyer who accompanied Champlain to Port Royal. His work provided some comment on the marriage rites and morality of the Mi'kmaq, but little real information on the subject of intermarriage with the Indians. The *Jesuit Relations* proved to be of little use, however, as the Jesuits left Acadia with the fall of Port Royal in 1613 and never returned. There is no

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detailed record, therefore, of missionary activity in Acadia during the most important period of French settlement. The Capuchins did not record their activities in anywhere near the same detail as the Jesuits did. The Vatican Archives contain some reports on affairs in Acadia, and these are held in microfilm in the National Archives, but are subject to ATIP requests. A request was made for this project, but no response has been received as of yet.

The longest report on Acadia made by a missionary was that of Father Ignace of Paris, written in 1656. This was one of the reports that were subject to an ATIP request, but the document was found to have been transcribed and translated into French and English in the nineteenth century, and is to be found today in the fonds of the Bishop of Montreal, held on microfilm in the National Archives. Furthermore, Father Ignace's report was printed in its original Latin as well as in English and was published in the Public Archives Report for 1904. Unfortunately, it contains no relevant material. It describes the fall of the colony to Cromwell's forces in 1654, and requests Royal action to save the faithful among the Indians and the French settlers of the Colony.

Nicolas Denys' book *Description and Natural History of the Coasts of America*, which is a memoir of the author's activities in the colony and his suggestions for future prosperity, was consulted, but it was most useful for what it did not say. In 1636, upon the death of Isaac de Razilly, the new Governor moved the capital from La Have to Port Royal. The French historian Rameau de St. Père stated in the mid-19th century that when this happened, many men who had married Indian women stayed behind, and La Have became a 'Métis' community. 20th century historians such as Emile Lauvriere and Andrew Hill Clark repeated this assertion. Denys, who was actually present and whose son Richard married an Indian woman, mentions nothing of this supposed community. The Champlain Society published Denys' book in a translated and annotated form in 1908. It includes a description of the coastline of the study area, but it focuses on the natural resources of the area, and virtually ignores the inhabitants.

A visitor to Acadia was the Sieur de Dierèville, who travelled there early in the 18th century and published his memoirs of the journey. Dierèville's book, *Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia or New France*, has also been published by the Champlain Society. It was reprinted again by Greenwood Press in 1968. The book records his travels to Acadia, as well as his observations. It is a rather unusual book, with roughly half of it having been written in verse. Dierèville's travelogue contains chapters on the Indians and the settlers, but contains no recognition that the two ever combined.

The Archives section of the Library and Archives Canada also has "A Brief Survey of the Province of Nova Scotia." This document was found in the library of Woolwich Arsenal, London, around 1914, John Bartlett Brebner believes the author to have been Charles Morris, a military officer who would later become Surveyor General of Nova Scotia (and whose direct descendants would hold the post in unbroken succession until at least 1857). Brebner bases this upon consistencies in this document and in reports that carry Morris' signature that are found in the Andrew Brown Collection. The National Archives possesses a photocopy of the original. Unfortunately, the main focus of this document is on the military frontier with the forces of France, near Beaubassin, and the history of the war between France and England in that area. Little or no attention is paid to the southwest part of the colony. The most useful item in this document, at least for the purposes of this report, was a statement that Morris found the Acadians in general to be somewhere in between the European French and the Indians (while

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they lived in farming villages and dressed like Europeans, they had dark complexions and a number of Indian habits, such as wearing long hair). He also gave the Acadian population of the Cape Sable area as consisting of roughly 50 families, out of over 1,200 in the colony.

As for other travellers, such as clergymen, or simply diarists, very few seem to have passed through Nova Scotia until several years after the expulsions. One, Stephen Moorsom, who travelled throughout Nova Scotia in the 1830s, made a comment about a supposed mixed-ancestry community in Clare Township, Digby County that had its origins in the flight to the woods of the Acadian people in order to avoid deportation. Moorsom, however, mentioned nothing else about them.

A number of collections of published documents were utilized, including Thomas Aikins' *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia* (1869). This contains a number of documents from a variety of sources, including CO 217 and CO 220, as well as from the Brown Collection. Also used was the *Collection de Manuscrits Contenant Lettres, Mémoires, et Autre Documents Historiques Relatifs à la Nouvelle-France*, which was published in four volumes by the Government of Quebec between 1883 and 1885. Although its main focus is New France, the series also includes a number of Acadian documents. Most importantly, this collection contains the 1687 instructions to Governor Meneval, which complained that too many prominent Acadians were forsaking agriculture for adventure in the forest. Also helpful were volumes 9 and 10 of Documents relative to the History of the Colony of New York. These two volumes contained documents from the Archives in Paris, and included a number of documents relative to French colonial Indian policies and the attitudes of the Acadians to their government. It also contained the 1746 letter from Beauharnois and Hocquart in which they suggest to their superior a plan for the retaking of Acadia. Included are descriptions of the settlements along the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia, and the powerlessness of the British to control the area, due to their concentration in Port Royal.

Finally, there are three volumes of Acadian documents, entitled *Collection de Documents inédits sur le Canada et l'Amerique*, which were published by the magazine *Canada-Français* between 1889 and 1892. Many of these documents are available elsewhere, such as the ones taken from the Brown Collection, but volume 3 contains a lengthy discussion of the Declarations of Belle-Ile-en-Mer (see the comments on genealogy, immediately below) written by Rameau de St. Père. It is here, in his comments on the Lejeune family, that he provides several pages of commentary on what he called the "Métis" of Nova Scotia, that he also mentioned in his other works.

Although initially instructed to avoid genealogy and genealogical materials in preference to other primary documents, the sheer lack of other materials, coupled with the use of such materials by those who have previously written about mixed-ancestry populations, meant that in the end they were to form part of this research. Those who venture into the field of Acadian genealogy must be familiar with the two greatest, seemingly contradictory problems: the tremendous number of works that have been written, and the scarcity of the original source material.

All of the books that have been written about Acadian genealogy can and do fill several shelves. During the course of this research on this paper books on Acadian genealogy were encountered that had been written in France, Texas, Florida and Alabama; anywhere where the descendants of the Acadians had settled after the expulsions. There are also dozens of genealogical websites that include the Acadians. With all of these sources, it is not surprising that many of them contradict each other,

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and that is the problem with them: which one is correct. As an example, some genealogies insist that Jeanne Mercier, the wife of Antoine Babin, was of mixed-ancestry, while others state that both of her parents were born in France. On both sides is a lack of corroborating documents.

This is where the scarcity comes in, for much of the material taken for granted by genealogists elsewhere – church registers and civil records – were destroyed at the time of the expulsions. Some of it survives. In an essay in the 1905 Canadian Archives report, one of the earliest genealogists, Placide Gaudet, who was also employed by the Archives, lists what did survive:

If all the registers of these several churches were available, it would be an easy matter to trace the Acadian genealogies from 1632 to the year 1755, but unfortunately very few of them are in the country. In fact only two volumes of the Church Records of St. Jean Baptiste de Port Royal are known to exist, and they embrace the years 1702-1755.

The originals are in Halifax and a copy has been here in the Dominion Archives since 1882. The Registers of St. Charles de la Grande-Prée aux Mines were brought to Louisiana by the Acadians at the time of the expulsion. There were five volumes of them embracing the years 1687-1755.

They were given in charge of the Parish Priest of St. Gabriel, and very poor care was taken of them. In the fall of 1893, a flood inundated the Parochial House of St. Gabriel and two volumes and several parts of the other three were destroyed. Two years later, His Grace, the late Archbishop O'Brien, of Halifax, had a copy made of the remnants of these registers from which, in the spring of 1899, I made a duplicate copy for the Dominion Archives. These registers comprise the years 1707 to 1748, but there are several gaps in the entries of births, marriages and deaths.⁵

The only other pre-expulsion church records for peninsular Nova Scotia that are known to exist are from Beaubassin (1679-1686) and Mines (1684).⁶ As for the study area, Stephen White notes that it was divided into 2 parishes: St. Anne's, which encompassed Chebogue and Cape Sable, and Notre Dame, which was Pobomcoup. According to an oath the missionary priest, De Gay Desenclaves, swore on April 9, 1764, in France, the parish registers were lost.⁷

⁵ Placide Gaudet, *Canadian Archives Report, 1905*, Vol. 2, iv-v. In "A Good Day on the Aboiteau", Janet Chute states that it had been pointed out to her by one James Breen (it is unclear who he is) that in the parish records for Port Royal Catherine Babin is listed as "Indienne" when her 1665 marriage to Jean Comeau was registered (Chute, "A Good Day on the Aboiteau", 34-35). Unfortunately, it does not appear that the 1665 registers actually exist. Furthermore, Catherine Babin (the daughter of Antoine Babin and Marie Mercier) probably wasn't even born until after 1670.

⁶ B-002, LAC, MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 1, Reel C-3021, title page. It is quite possible that no church records for the study area existed, as many events such as baptisms and marriages that involved people from Mirligueche and Cape Sable were recorded in Port Royal (Baptism of Paul Guédry, B-003, LAC, MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 24-1, Reel C-1869, p. 64).

⁷ Stephen White, *English Supplement to the Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes* (Moncton, 2000), xxv-xxvi. It is unclear how the boundaries were established, as according to the map, Pobomcoup is between Chebogue and Cape Sable.

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An important document in Acadian genealogy is the collection of declarations made at Belle-Ile-en-Mer by 78 Acadian families settling in France. The declarations were intended to show an ancient connection to France, which would give one a right to settle there. The declarations were also intended as a replacement for the missing official documents. Stephen White says of the Declarations that:

The registers of these depositions were deliberately compiled in order to compensate for the lost parochial archives. They are equivalent in value to the parish registers, and even if they are not a true primary source insofar as they concern the forbears of the declarations, they must be recognized as one of the primary sources of Acadian genealogy.⁸

These Acadians presented their family trees as far back as they could remember. As for a name that will be important later in the paper, Pierre Lejeune *dit* Briard, it is in the declarations, and only in the declarations, that we learn that he was a son of an earlier Pierre Lejeune that had come from France. Being the recollections of so many different people, however, it is understandable that many of the statements made in the declarations contradict each other.

Furthermore, Acadian genealogy is not a neutral subject, particularly when it comes to possible Indian ancestry. Placide Gaudet himself, for example, stated that the descendants of Philippe II Mius, the son of the original Philippe, who was the King's Attorney for the colony, all had Indian blood, as Philippe II's wife was Mi'kmaq. H. Leander Entremont, a descendant of the original baron through the lineage of another son, practically accused Gaudet of slander, for as Entremont stated it, accusing many of the finest families of Acadia of being half-breeds. In recent years, other researchers have taken great pains to emphasis a mixed-ancestry heritage.

The most thorough of the genealogies in use today, which build on Gaudet's work, are the *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes* by Stephen White of the Acadian Study Centre in Moncton, Bona Arsenault's *Histoire et Généalogie des Acadiens* and Father Clarence-Joseph Entremont's *Histoire du Cap Sable*, which is mostly genealogy. The Father has also written a number of local histories of the area, including La Have.

A problem frequently encountered in Acadian genealogy, particularly that of the 17th century is that known individuals will be listed, but the circumstances of his or her arrival into the colony are unknown. An example is Bona Arsenault's entry concerning Pierre Lejeune *dit* Briard. Arsenault lists him as born around 1656, with his brother Martin born around 1661, but no more is listed. Arsenault does not mention who his parents were. Did he emigrate from France? We know from the Belle-Ile-en-Mer declarations that his father was already in the colony. If that is correct, was his mother Mi'kmaq? We do not know that for sure. Some believe that that would not be unlikely, as his brother Martin was known to have married a Mi'kmaq, but Stephen White instead believes that the older Pierre married the daughter of one of the colony's most prominent members, Germain Doucet, Sieur de la Verdure. Of course, his wife was not known, so it could have been that she was Mi'kmaq. Unfortunately, there is no evidence either way.

⁸ Lucie LeBlanc Consentino, "Acadian & French Canadian Ancestral Home," October 14, 2004, <http://www.acadian-home.org/declarations-BIM.html>, Viewed December 14, 2004.

As well as Gaudet's essay, the 1905 Canadian Archives Report also reprints a number of documents on the return of the Acadians after the expulsions, including reports on prisoners held by the authorities, legislation allowing the Acadians to return, and petitions from Acadians requesting grants of land. Unfortunately, none of the documents attached to Gaudet's report discussed mixed-ancestry populations.

A review of the secondary sources used in the preparation of this report can be seen in the following chapter. Also used, but not discussed, were local histories, including two of Yarmouth County, one by Rev. Campbell and the other by George S. Brown. Both were written in the late 19th century. Brown's book contains an appendix devoted to the Acadians who came to the county after the expulsions and settled at Eel Brook. The Surette and Babin families both figure prominently. The chapter includes a great deal of genealogy, but no mention of aboriginal ancestry. Isaiah Wilson's history of Digby County, which included information on the returning Acadians who settled at St. Mary's Bay, is similar. Many local histories contain very little of use. An example of this is the history of La Have written by Caulfield in 1970. The author sums up the entire period between 1638 and 1755 by stating that little is known about what happened there at the time.

3.0 Analysis of Secondary Literature

Secondary literature is very important in any discussion of the mixed-ancestry people of southwestern Nova Scotia as most of the literature on the topic is contained in secondary sources, and is, in some respects, a creation of them. Secondary works were analysed to determine: a) how the topic of mixed-ancestry people had previously been dealt with; and b) the sources that had been used by the different authors. The analysis suggested that this was a subject that had never been seriously considered prior to the mid-nineteenth century. The first author to take an interest in the matter was French author Edmé de Rameau de St. Père, who published his first articles on the Acadians in the 1850s, and later historians of Acadia, if they included anything on mixed-ancestry populations, tended to quote Rameau instead of undertaking primary research of their own. It should be noted that no author prior to the very recent past, not even Rameau de St. Père, focussed exclusively on mixed-ancestry populations, as these populations were merely incidental to their histories of the Acadians or the Mi'kmaq as a whole.

The first historians of Nova Scotia, such as Beamish Murdoch or Thomas Chandler Halliburton, if they broached the subject of mixed-ancestry peoples at all, merely mentioned the marriages of such prominent founders of Acadia as Charles La Tour or Jean Vincent Saint-Castin, minor noblemen of the colony who married Indian women in the apparent furtherance of their fur trading ventures.⁹ François Edmé Rameau de St. Père (1820-1899) was a French amateur historian who lived off a considerable inheritance while he dedicated himself to the history of the French in America. He even travelled to Nova Scotia, Québec and Louisiana, and utilized local sources. In 1859 he published *La France aux Colonies*, but he is more widely known for *Une Colonie Féodale en Amérique*, a history of Acadia from its beginning. It was published as a single volume in 1877, but an expanded second edition, in two volumes, was published in 1889. He also published a number of articles on the subject, and he contributed to the periodical *Canada Français*, most notably an analysis of the Declarations of Belle-Isle-en-Mer. Whilst in his main works touched on the subject of mixed-ancestry peoples in Acadia, it

⁹ Thomas Chandler Haliburton, *A General Description of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: 1825); Beamish Murdoch, *A History of Nova Scotia or Acadie*, 3 vols, (Halifax: 1865-67).

was in his critique of the declarations, which included an analysis of the Lejeune family, that he wrote his longest dissertation on the subject.¹⁰

According to Rameau de St. Père, there were two distinct periods in which intermarriage between the Mi'kmaq and the French colonists occurred: the first was in the period between 1615 and 1630, before the main period of European settlement, when the survivors from Port Royal, such as Biencourt and Charles La Tour, lived and traded with the Indians. It was during this period that La Tour married his first wife, who was Mi'kmaq. Several children were also fathered by the visiting French and Basque fisherman who fished off the shore, and who landed to dry their fish and to trade. Then, after the establishment of La Have in 1632, there was another period of intermarriage, due to the shortage of French women. When the settlement was relocated to Port Royal in 1636, some men who had married Mi'kmaq women are said to have remained behind. According to Rameau, the single male colonists who arrived with Razilly preferred to marry the children produced by the earlier French-Mi'kmaq unions.

Rameau de St. Père was subject to the prejudices of his time, however, and his history of the mixed-ancestry people of Acadia appears to treat their ethnogenesis as an unfortunate event:

Nous avons déjà exposé tout à l'heure comment une partie de la famille Martin s'habitua à vivre et à s'allier avec les familles des Micmacs; or c'est un fait qui se remarque à diverses reprises surtout, comme nous le verrons, parmi les premières familles immigrantes. Tant qu'il ne vint dans ce pays que des aventuriers célibataires, on peut dire que tous ceux qui s'y fixèrent définitivement, s'assilèrent graduellement aux usages des Micmacs, à leurs préoccupations, à leurs plaisirs et à leurs pratiques ; quelques-uns fondèrent de familles de sang-mêlé, qui ne différaient guères de leur parents sauvages.

Les premières familles amenées par Rasilly [sic] subirent elles-mêmes cette fâcheuse influence; étant peu nombreuses et isolées, elles tendaient insensiblement à former leurs habitudes et leur vie sur le milieu qui les entourait. Un petit nombre d'entre elles parvenaient seules à se défendre sérieusement contre cet entraînement et si D'Aulnay n'était pas venu promptement et énergiquement réagir contre cette absorption, en multipliant le nombre des immigrants, en établissant des missionnaires, et en donnant lui-même l'exemple d'un travail progressif et bien ordonné, c'est à peine s'il serait resté quelques germes de la tradition civilisée que les immigrants apportaient avec eux.

C'est pourquoi l'on observe chez plusieurs des familles des familles qui datent de la première époque (1630 à 1640), une dénaturation plus notable, un penchant plus prononcé, pendant les premières générations, à s'allier avec les sauvages, et à vivre avec eux. L'histoire de la famille Lejeune nous offre précisément un spécimen bien caractérisé de ces premiers immigrants de l'Acadie et nous fournit ainsi l'occasion de

¹⁰ Edmé Rameau de St. Père, *Une Colonie Féodale en Amérique: l'Acadie 1604-1881* (Paris: 1889). Biographical information: Archives of the University of New Brunswick, Acadian Study Centre, "Fonds François-Edmé Rameau de Saint-Père (1820-1899)," www.unimoncton.ca/etudeacadiennes/centre/etatgen/etat000/p0002.html, Viewed January 10, 2005.

nous rendre compte de la situation des Français en ce pays au moment où Razilly en prit possession.

...

Ils y rencontrèrent parmi les indigènes quelques Français aventuriers; les uns étaient d'anciens compagnons de Biencourt et de Latour. Les autres des déserteurs de navires qui de temps à autre étaient venus se joindre aux premiers. Ces aventuriers vivaient de chasse et de pêche, ramassant des pelleteries par eux-mêmes, et chez les Micmacs leurs voisins ; ils troquaient ces pelleteries avec les pêcheurs de morue, contre de la poudre, du fer, des armes et de l'eau-de-vie.

Beaucoup d'entre eux vagabondaient constamment dans les bois avec les Sauvages, mais plusieurs, qui avaient contracté des unions plus ou moins stables avec des *squaws* [italics in original], avaient construit des huttes aux environs de La Hève, où ils se retiraient une partie de l'année avec leur famille; ils vivaient du reste absolument à l'indienne, et ce groupe bigarré n'était réellement qu'un rudiment de civilisation, planté très grossièrement au milieu de la sauvagerie. Ce fut dans ces conditions que Lejeune dut créer son installation, avec les quelques ressources que put lui fournir le navire qui l'apportait; et ce fut là peut-être que madame Lejeune mit au jour, en 1635 ou 1636, son troisième enfant *Catherine*, qui devait épouser François Savoye vers 1652.

Lorsque Razilly arriva avec des matériaux, des outils, des ouvriers de toutes sortes, la position des Lejeune et des autres Français s'améliora sans doute sensiblement; les logements (je n'ose pas dire les maisons) que l'on construisit avec de grosses charpentes empilées et bien assemblées, commencèrent à prendre une tournure d'habitudes humaine ; on cultiva quelques légumes que l'on mêla avec le poisson et le gibier; il est même probable que, dès le principe, Razilly ait amené quelques vaches. Cependant la situation ne se modifia pas de suite très notablement dans les habitudes de l'existence : nos coureurs de bois étaient assouplis, par une longue durée, à la vie des sauvages ; leurs enfants métis élevés par les *squaws*, ne différaient guères dans leur éducation, dans leur jeu, dans la formation de leur idées, des enfants Micmacs ; or ce fut au milieu d'eux que furent élevés les enfants de Lejeune, absolument abandonnés à eux-mêmes.¹¹

According to Rameau, the main locus of the Métis of Nova Scotia was the "semi-savage, semi-civilized" Atlantic coast, and in particular the area around the mouth of the La Have River, which included the post at La Have, and the villages of Mirliguesche and Petite Rivière.

In his writings, Rameau used the terms "Métis" and "Bois Brulé" quite freely, although there is no evidence that they were ever used in seventeenth and eighteenth century Nova Scotia, at least in the sense that he used them. Many of his research notes survive in his personal papers, which were donated to the Archives of the University of New Brunswick, and it is clear from some of these

¹¹ Rameau's notes on the Lejeune family, in *Collection de Documents inédits sur le Canada et l'Amérique* (Québec : 1892), 3:145-147.

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documents that he was familiar with current affairs in Red River. He may therefore have “borrowed” the terminology in use there to describe the situation in early Acadia.¹²

A major problem with Rameau de St. Père’s work is its sourcing. Like many 19th century historians, he used footnotes infrequently, and most of what he wrote is not sourced at all. It is therefore unclear where he received his information. When he did footnote his work, he often uses very general references which are not helpful to the researcher, such as “Archives de Paris” or “Archives of Canada.” Moreover, Rameau de St. Père himself acknowledged that he had created much of what he had written, particularly with respect to the so-called Métis settlement of La Have, in order to highlight the points that he was trying to get across. As he states in his article on the Lejeune family:

Nous n’avons pas besoin d’avertir le lecteur que, dans cet exposé, nous avons dû recourir, dans une assez large mesure, aux inductions, et aux hypothèses rationnelles qui peuvent découler des faits, afin déclarer les notions incomplètes qui restent dans l’ombre ; chacun, sur ce point, peut on accepter ou en écarter ce qui lui conviendra ; mais nous avons cru devoir prendre ici cette liberté, afin de pouvoir, par cette exposition, donner un idée un peu plus claire de la manière dont les choses ont dû se passer, au moment de l’établissement des premières familles Acadiennes.¹³

This being the case, it would be easy to conclude that much of what appears in Rameau de St. Père’s work to be mere fabrication. Stephen White is of this opinion. He notes that Rameau once wrote a report, which he does not name, in which all the names were fictitious. That being the case, White asked, what else could he have made up as well? Historian Naomi Griffiths, on the other hand, cautions that one needs to be very careful in this respect. She claims that from her own research she has found using Rameau de St. Père’ work to be quite maddening in that she often assumed him to be making up evidence to back his theses, only to later find the corroborating documents in the unlikelyst of places.¹⁴

Rameau de St. Père’s assertion that even a small number of Acadians had the tiniest degree of Indian blood was very controversial, and sparked a reaction amongst French Canadian authors. One of the most notable was Pascale Poirier, a New-Brunswick-born historian of Acadian ancestry, who in his 1874 work *Les Origines d’Acadiens* denied that the modern Acadians had *any* Indian ancestry. He sought to prove that there were no descendants from those Indian-Acadian marriages that were known to have taken place, and those bloodlines were safely extinct.¹⁵

¹² F-001, Centre d’Études Acadiennes, New Brunswick, Rameau de St. Père Fonds, File 2.11-19.

¹³ Edmé Rameau de St. Père, “Remarques sur les Registres de Belle-Isle-en-Mer”, in *Collection de Documents Inédits*, 3:146. Translation : “We do not need to warn the reader that in this account, to a large degree, we had to use induction and rational hypothesis based on the facts in order to clarify some of the murkier notions. One can accept or reject the information. However, we thought that taking such liberties would present a clearer picture of life back when the first Acadian families settled.”

¹⁴ Stephen A. White, in private conversation with Public History Inc. researcher, Ryan Singleton, October 21, 2004; Naomi Griffiths, in private conversation with Public History Inc. researcher, Ken Brown, November 25, 2004.

¹⁵ Pascale Poirier, *Origines des Acadiens* (Montreal : 1874).

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Poirier's claims, however, were challenged by a contemporary Nova Scotia historian James Hannay. In his 1879 *History of Acadia*, Hannay pointed out four incontrovertible marriages between Acadians and Indians. These included the marriages of Charles La Tour of Cape Sable, St. Castin on the Penobscot (in the present State of Maine), Pierre Martin at Port Royal and Martin Lejeune at La Have. Hannay did agree with Poirier, though, that too much was being made of the matter, for he did not seem to believe that there were any Acadian-Indian marriages beyond the few enumerated above. He noted that:

It is absolutely clear, however, that three marriages between Acadians and Indian women two centuries ago could have no influence whatsoever, after eight generations, on a race as numerous as the Acadians. These marriages, therefore, become matters of antiquarian interest.¹⁶

As a final note, Hannay recalled a description of the Acadians written in 1692 by La Mothe Cadillac, during his visit to the colony. Cadillac noted that most of the Acadians were of fair complexion, and therefore, Hannay concluded, very few of them could have been part Indian. Hannay did go on to say, however, that complexion was not necessarily a determinant of an Indian background, noting that many Europeans have a dark complexion, and that skin colour can be affected by all manner of factors, including diet and climate.¹⁷

Still, the subject remained controversial. Quebec historian Benjamin Sulte, in an address to the Royal Society of Canada in 1905, stated that once French Canadians married Indians, they ceased to be French Canadians:

There now remains to be considered only the question of the half-breeds, with regard to which there need be little doubt, for the civil as well as the religious authorities were strongly opposed to inter-marriage with the Indians. Then too, there is at the present day a complete record of the genealogy of each family, showing clearly that rarely did such a marriage take place.

Those who married Indians far from forming part of the Canadian population were altogether lost to it. Indian half-breeds of all periods are looked upon as distant in race from the white population.¹⁸

French historian Emile Lauvriere, writing in the 1920s, went further. Commenting on D'Aulnay's relocation of the colony's capital from La Have to Port Royal, he viewed it as a measure undertaken to

¹⁶ James Hannay, *History of Acadia from its First Discovery to its Surrender to England by the Treaty of Paris* (St. John: 1879), 295.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 296.

¹⁸ Benjamin Sulte, *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Series 2, 12 (1905): 119. According to Sulte's entry in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, written by Hélène Marcotte, Sulte was considered to be one of the more liberal of Quebec's historians, described by one of his critics as "the insulter of France, the traitor of his race, and the denigrator of our national figures."

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save the French race in the colony. By compelling those with Indian ancestry to stay at La Have, Lauvriere stated, D'Aulnay moved the remainder to Port Royal so that the single men could marry women brought from France; in effect, "restarting" the populating of the colony:

Confiant à quelques anciennes familles métisses la garde de son entrepôt de Le Hève, il avait réuni dans le vieil établissement du Port-Royal dant les terres étaient meilleures cette quarantaine de familles purement françaises.¹⁹

The suggestion that Acadian families could have had Indian blood was anathema to one of the prominent Acadian historians of the early 20th Century as well. H. Leander D'Entremont, the descendant of one of the most prominent of the early Acadians, Philippe Mius, wrote in the 1920s, that, "Rameau de St. Père, French Historian [sic] who published a book in 1889, "Une Colonie Feodale en Amerique," has accused many Acadian families of being half-breed."²⁰

D'Entremont analyzed Rameau de St. Père's work, particularly his analysis of the Declarations of Belle en Mer, and d'Entremont's conclusion was that the names of those whom Rameau stated carried Indian blood were not, for the most part, truly Acadian families:

Of all the names given above, outside of those of Doucet, Guedry, and Mius (this last not proven) there is not a name that represents, on the male side, any of the Acadian family names in this section of the Province; all the others being mostly French adventurers who have not left their family name in Nova Scotia.²¹

Among English language historians, the presence of individuals of mixed-ancestry was not such an important topic, and although they were occasionally mentioned by historians such as the American John Bartlett Brebner, no historian spent much time on them. Brebner, in his history of Acadia and Nova Scotia until the time of the expulsions, *New England's Outpost*, which was an expansion of his doctoral thesis, only mentioned people of mixed-ancestry once. With regards to the warfare between France and England over Acadia, he noted that the war held little interest for the French Inhabitants:

In this warfare, the agricultural population had no basic interest, although they suffered undeservedly from the counter-attacks. It was a French and Canadian affair rather than an Acadian one, and the distinction is in general justified in spite of the fact that some of the coureurs de bois, métis and irregulars in the raiding parties were recruited from the adventurous fringe of a sedentary population on the farm lands.²²

¹⁹ Emile Lauvriere, *La Tragédie D'Un Peuple* (Paris: 1924), 1:77.

²⁰ H. Leander D'Entremont Collection, LAC, MG 25, G 36, Reel M-271, 67.

²¹ *Ibid*, 68.

²² James Bartlett Brebner, *New England's Outpost* (1927; reprint, New York: 1973), 46. In 1925 an Article appeared in the *American Journal of Folklore* entitled "Folklore from the Halfbreeds of Nova Scotia." These tales were collected, stated the introduction, at Lequille, a village near Annapolis Royal, from among "the Micmac Indians who live near a negro settlement." Arthur Huff Fauset, "Folklore from the Halfbreeds of Newfoundland," *Journal of American Folklore* 38, No. 148 (April-June, 1925): 300-320.

Again, it is assumed that Brebner adopted the use of the word “métis” from earlier histories, such as Rameau de St. Père’s. There are no other mentions of “Métis” anywhere else in Brebner’s book.

A major piece of research on early Acadia was the American historian Andrew Hill Clark’s *Acadia: the Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760*. Like other works on Acadia, however, the presence of a mixed-ancestry population was virtually ignored. Clark made a number of references to the existence of such a people, even going so far as to refer to La Have and other unnamed communities on the Atlantic coast as being “Métis” communities. He appears to have done no primary research on the subject himself, however, preferring instead to refer the reader to the work already done by Lauvriere and by Rameau de St. Père, whose conclusions Clark seems to accept without reservation.

Clark believed that the failure of agriculture in the earliest period of settlement had been caused by the potential farmers of the colony being distracted by the attractions of the sea and forests, and by the lack of European women. This, Clark claims, abundantly demonstrated that agricultural communities needed their own women and the stability of family life. Poutrincourt had brought his own wife, and two women accompanied the Alexander settlers (their leader, Sir William Alexander, was granted the colony by the King of Scotland in 1621). Clark argued that the situation as it existed in the first years of Acadia would increase the number of Indians, not the number of settlers:

Resort to Indian women must have been common enough among the fur traders but it never became an accepted or established practice in the organized settlements in good part because of the influence of the priests. In any event, dalliances with the Indian maids was more likely to lead men to the forest than women to the cornfields. There is no doubt that the blending of French and Micmac genes did get underway in the period and that this process continued, clandestinely, at least, through the continued Acadian residence, somewhat diluting the “genetic purity” of both Acadian and Indian groups (principally the latter). But it was the absence of wives and settled families that may well have been the greatest handicap agriculture faced. It was demonstrated that the desired immigrant plants and animals would thrive in the soil and climate, and the need for the products of husbandry was great and continuous. But of women of their own kind to cook and sew, harvest and hoe, and provide the solace and affections of home, there were none, and to their absence, as much as to any other problem or difficulty, the lack of success may be attributed. The attempts at agricultural settlement in Acadia prior to 1632 were largely abortive, but, in proving that agriculture of the west-European mixed-farming character (which could be largely self-sustaining) was feasible, they proved that permanent colonization was possible as well.²³

People of mixed-ancestry were almost completely ignored in L.F.S. Upton’s history of the Mi’kmaq, *Micmacs and Colonists*. His main concern was the Mi’kmaq, and he dealt with the subject of mixed-ancestry in a rather pre-emptory way. He would only say that:

Many of the first settlers took Indian wives, and the community of La Have, for example, was a métis settlement. Whether the children of mixed descent became

²³ Andrew Hill Clark, *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760* (Madison: 1968), 88-89.

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hunters or farmers depended on which parent had responsibility for their upbringing. The white male settlers had an interest in retaining control of their children, if only as labourers on their farms. By contrast, the fishermen who preceded them had had no interest in the offspring of their casual liaisons, and those children were raised by their mothers totally within the Micmac culture.²⁴

The mixed-ancestry children who stayed on the farm, Upton suggested, eventually assimilated to white society, while those who remained in the forest became Indians. This is almost identical to Clark's hypothesis.

Historian Naomi Griffiths, in her work on the Acadians, sees the relationship between the Acadians and the Mi'kmaq to be very important. Relations with the Mi'kmaq were for 150 years most amicable, leading not only to unmarried liaisons first deplored by the early missionaries but also to a significant number of church-registered unions. More important than this sprinkling of marriages, Griffiths believes, was the general tenor of the relationship. The settlers adopted Mi'kmaq-style boats for coastal travel and accompanied the Mi'kmaq through the forest. They also wore Mi'kmaq articles of clothing such as moccasins and consumed herbs and vegetables unknown in Europe.²⁵

The strength of the Acadian colony, she insists, was not built in isolation from the Mi'kmaq society. The establishment of a successful Acadian community owed a very great deal to the aid given by the Mi'kmaq. The relationship of European and Mi'kmaq was very different from the relationships along the St. Lawrence between European and Iroquois. Not only was there no continuous warfare between the newcomers and native in Acadia, there was intermarriage, according to the rites of the newcomers, between the two peoples.²⁶ By 1671, Griffiths notes, Acadia's European population was around 600, and in a community of some seventy households there were at least five where the legitimate wife was Mi'kmaq.²⁷

At the same time, Griffiths suggests that the relationship should not be over-emphasised. The Acadians were a European oriented, agricultural, settled people, very different in outlook from the Mi'kmaq. Furthermore, as the Indian struggle with the British intensified, the interests of the Mi'kmaq and the Acadians differed. While the Indians supported French goals, and expected Acadian cooperation in their military activities, the Acadians, for the most part, wished only to remain neutral. Griffiths concedes that the situation may have been different on the Atlantic coast, which was the very periphery of Acadian society. The Mi'kmaq in the study area outnumbered the local Acadians, and those Acadians who lived in the area were no doubt aware, as Griffiths told the author of this report, that they held their land at the pleasure of the Mi'kmaq.²⁸ The Mi'kmaq and the

²⁴ L.F.S. Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867* (Vancouver: 1979), 26.

²⁵ Naomi Griffiths, "The Acadians" in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: 1979), 4: xviii.

²⁶ Naomi Griffiths, "Mating and Marriage in Early Canada" in *Renaissance and Modern Studies* 35 (1992): 121.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 123.

²⁸ Naomi Griffiths, in private conversation with Public History Inc. researcher, Ken Brown, November 25, 2004.

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Acadians in the study area also lived very similar lives, with an emphasis on hunting, fishing and trapping along with some farming, and their ties of intermarriage may have been stronger than they were in the main settlements on the Bay of Fundy. There are, however, not enough documents extant for the historian to be able draw conclusions.

Griffiths' conclusion is similar to that of historian Olive Dickason. While acknowledging that there were indeed many people of mixed-ancestry in Acadia, she does not think that they formed separate and distinct communities. In her article "From 'One Nation' in the Northeast to 'New Nation' in the Northwest: A Look at the Emergence of the Métis," Dickason states that she does not see the justification of using the word "Métis" in relation to Nova Scotia/Acadia, and she believes that the essential element of a Métis consciousness was missing from the time and place:

A common enemy in dangerously close proximity did much to foster good relations between allies and blood relatives.

It also did much to discourage the emergence of the métis as a separate group. The tensions of protracted frontier warfare, lasting until the final defeat of the French in 1760, polarized the racial situation in Acadia even as it encouraged good relations. In other words, the children of mixed unions tended to identify with either the French or the Amerindians rather than as considering themselves a separate entity. This would have been particularly true for the men. The two areas where a biracial heritage as such would have given them an advantage, the fur trade and diplomatic relations with Amerindians, provided only limited opportunities in the East during the latter part of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries. Other occupational fields, particularly prestigious ones such as the missionary and the military, demanded identification with the French. The alternative would have been to join allied Amerindian guerrillas in their "petit guerre" against the English, which would have meant identification as Amerindian. If they stayed within the colony in any other occupation, children of mixed unions would have been considered French. The British takeover of Acadia in 1710, which became official with the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713, did not alter this. Thus the Acadians, even as they cited their blood ties with the Amerindians as one of their reasons for not taking the oath of loyalty insisted upon by the British, never thought of themselves as anything other than French. French officialdom worked hard to encourage this, with the aid of missionaries. It was not a conviction that was wholeheartedly shared by the British, who profoundly distrusted Acadian-Amerindian connections.²⁹

²⁹ Olive Dickason, "From 'One Nation' in the Northeast to 'New Nation' in the Northwest: A Look at the Emergence of the Métis." In *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985), 29-30. In a M.A. thesis for the University of Moncton, Isabelle Ringuet attempted to demonstrate how four Acadian families used their skills as interpreters to acquire social mobility. The difficulty with her thesis is that three of the families, d'Entremont, Petitpas and LeBorgne, were already part of the colonial elite. The d'Entremonts were a noble family from France. The senior LeBorgne was one of d'Aulnay's French creditors, and he and his son both served brief terms as Governor of Acadia after they sailed to the colony to collect on the debts they were owed. Finally, the senior Petitpas was clerk of the court in Port Royal, with the title Sieur de la Fleur. The fourth family, Raubichaud, was not known to have any mixed-ancestry individuals (Isabelle Ringuet, "Le Stratégies de Mobilité Sociale des Interprètes en Nouvelle-France et à l'Île Royale, 1713-1748." M.A. Thesis, University of Moncton, 2000). See the section on intermarriage, particularly the subsections on Saint-Castin, Mius and Petitpas, below.

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Dickason's view is also shared by Geoffrey Plank, who wrote in his book *The Culture of Conquest: The British Colonists and Nova Scotia, 1690-1759*, that a later bounty policy from the time of the expulsions, which will be discussed later, created a great deal of uncertainty:

The new bounty policy threw a long-standing problem into sharp relief. Some men of European descent, missionaries, fur traders, former war captives and others, lived among the Micmacs all their lives. Some Indian women lived among the Acadians and married French-speaking men. Their children and grandchildren grew up as fully accepted members of the French-speaking community, but they retained many of the physical characteristics of the native population.³⁰

In another of his works, *An Unsettled Conquest: the British Campaign against the Peoples of Acadia*, Plank states that there was not even a word to describe those of mixed-ancestry:

The classification process in Nova Scotia was complicated by the presence of a significant number of people of mixed ancestry. No one had developed a formula for classifying a person of mixed descent. None of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia adopted the label "métis" to describe themselves, and except in extraordinary circumstances comparable English words such as "half-breed" or "mulatto" were never used.³¹

The topic was first dealt with in some length by the historical anthropologist William Wicken, who while not relying upon Rameau de St. Père to the same extent as earlier historians, quite openly referred to the French settlers along Atlantic coast of Acadia as "Métis." Also, while acknowledging that there are few documents, if any, that refer to mixed-ancestry communities, Wicken insists that intermarriage occurred extensively along the eastern coast between European men and Indian women. He adds that the settlers of European origin who lived in this region were isolated both spiritually and physically from the larger Acadian settlements and followed a rhythm of life that coincided closely with their Mi'kmaq neighbours. They also traded for skins and there would have been important economic and geographical reasons why intermarriage should have occurred. Determining the degree of intermarriage is difficult, however, as Wicken admits that there are so few records to work with.³²

Wicken, in his 1994 PhD thesis, noted that during the seventeenth century there were only four documented cases of intermarriage between the two communities, and in all four cases it was French men with Indian women. La Tour married an Indian woman, and then married d'Aulnay's widow after her death.³³ The third eldest son of d'Entremont married an Indian in 1678. In 1708 he was living

³⁰ Geoffrey Plank, *The Culture of Conquest: The British colonists and Nova Scotia, 1690-1759* (Princeton: 1994), 2:293.

³¹ Geoffrey Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest: The British Campaign against the Peoples of Acadia* (Philadelphia: 2001), 72.

³² Wicken, "26 August 1726" in *Acadiensis* 23 (1993): 13.

³³ La Tour was actually married three times. He married Francoisc-Marie Jacquelin between the Mi'kmaq wife and D'Aulnay's widow, Jeanne Motin (*Dictionary of Canadian Biography* 1:595).

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with his wife at La Hève. In 1686 Martin Lejeune was living with an Indian woman named Jeanne, and Claude Petitpas was married to an Indian woman named Marie-Thérèse. Wicken states that intermarriage also likely occurred along the Atlantic coast during the eighteenth century, although it may have declined with immigration to the eastern coast by Acadian farmers after 1725.³⁴

Wicken adds that the social distances between the Acadians in the major settlements and the Mi'kmaq are unlikely to have existed in the communities along the eastern coast as the population was too small and the kinship ties too strong. He gives as an example Marie Meuse (Mius), the daughter of the second Phillipe Mius (hereafter referred to as Philippe II Mius) and his Mi'kmaq wife (and the granddaughter of the Sieur d'Entremont, the Baron of Pobomcoup), who according to the 1708 census was married to Jean-Baptist Guedry, the son of parents of European descent who had settled at Mirligueche.³⁵

In recent years, a number of secondary works appear to acknowledge the existence of "Métis" communities along the Atlantic coast, and one of these supposed settlements is La Have/Mirliguesche (some works appear to use the two names interchangeably, although they were actually different, but nearby, locations), which is the approximate location of the present city of Lunenburg. An example of this is the book *Fortune and La Tour*, by M.A. MacDonald, which is a narrative history of the feud, which bordered on civil war, between La Tour and D'Aulnay, two of the founders of Acadia. In this book, the establishment of La Have and the subsequent move to Port Royal after the death of Razilly is described without reference to any settlers of mixed-ancestry apart from the descendants of La Tour and Saint-Castin, who did not live there in any case. Nevertheless, reference is made later in the book to "the Métis settlement of La Have," with no indication as to why this was so.³⁶ Some authors, however, appear to use "Métis" strictly in the sense of someone of mixed ancestry, with no connotation of those individuals forming a distinct community between European and Indian societies. Bona Arsenault, in his history of the Acadians, for example, stated that the earliest French colonists mingled with the Indians and "produced a number of *Métis* or half-breed children whose descendants survive to this day on Indian reserves in Eastern Canada."³⁷

In recent years William Wicken and Janet Chute have prepared papers on the population which they refer to as the "Métis" of south-western Nova Scotia, in support of present litigation now underway in Nova Scotia. Both papers attempt to demonstrate the existence of long-standing and recognized "Métis" communities in the study area, but both are hampered, like so many other works, by the lack of primary sources.

³⁴ Wicken, "Encounters with Tall Sails and Tall Tales: Mi'kmaq Society, 1500-1760", Ph.D. Thesis, McGill University, 1994, 224.

³⁵ 1708 Census, LAC, MG 18, File 18. Mius appears in a number of alternate forms. Other offspring of Mius' appear on censuses as Emieusse or Mieuse. See the subsection on Mius in the section on intermarriage.

³⁶ M.A. MacDonald, *Fortune and La Tour: the Civil War in Acadia* (Toronto: 1983), 151. This is not a recent phenomenon. M.B. DesBrisay's history of Lunenburg County, the second edition of which was published in 1895, makes a casual reference to Métis warriors from La Have. This is the only reference to Métis in the book.

³⁷ Bona Arsenault, *History of the Acadians* (Montreal: 1978), 17-18.

Chute's "A Good Day on the Aboiteau" does not, for the most part, rely on primary sources, but instead on present-day oral history and genealogy to make her case that there has always been an identifiable "Métis" (a word she uses) community in the region.³⁸ While the appellation is never used in the primary documents she cites, she seems to use it because the people relating their oral histories to her refer to themselves as "Métis." In fact, the major difficulty with her paper is that while much time is spent in demonstrating differences between her "Métis" and the Mi'kmaq, she spends little time in discussing how the "Métis" are different from Acadian Society as a whole.

This is particularly true in her discussion of the differences in marriage patterns. The Mi'kmaq, Chute notes, eschewed cousin marriage, believing it to be a taboo, while the "Métis" practised the custom quite often, although dispensation was needed from the church in order to do so. The marriage of cousins, however, was a relatively common Acadian practice, and the genealogical dictionary prepared by Stephen White of the Acadian Study Centre in Moncton, points out several examples of these dispensations.³⁹

Another problem is the genealogy she cites. In some cases, she identifies individuals mentioned in primary documents as "Métis," although that interpretation is not supported. In other cases, the genealogy upon which she bases her arguments is controversial, and is contradicted by other sources. Two examples involve the spouse of Antoine Babin, Marie Mercier, and the spouse of the first Pierre Lejeune dit Briard.

Chute writes in *A Good Day on the Aboiteau* that Antoine Babin married "Marie Mercier," whom Chute claims was "Métis," but other genealogical works suggest that Marie Mercier's parents, Jean Mercier and Françoise Gaudet, were both born in France.⁴⁰ Wicken and Chute interpret any hole in the genealogical record as evidence of Indian ancestry. As for the spouse of the first Pierre Lejeune dit Briard, that will be discussed in more detail later. Suffice to say that while Chute agrees with Rameau that she was an unknown Mi'kmaq, Stephen White argues that there is evidence to suggest that she was the daughter of one of the most prominent men in the colony, Germain Doucet. She acknowledges that much of the existing research on Acadian genealogy is incomplete, and at times contradictory. That being the case, she seems to suggest that because we will never know the complete

³⁸ "Aboiteau" is the Acadian word for the one-way clapper valves that the Acadians built into their dykes in order to allow sea water to drain from reclaimed land. These valves would then forbid the entry of any more water from the rising tide (Sieur de Dièreville, *Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia or New France* (1708; English Translation, New York: 1968), 84).

³⁹ See the section on intermarriage below. Also, the parish register for St. Mary's Bay for the period after the return of the Acadians, 1779-1802, has a list of marriages performed in the parish. The first 19 marriages recorded in the register all required cousin dispensations (L.H. Smith, Ed. *Saint Mary's Bay, 1774-1801: Early Parish Registers* (Clearwater, Florida, c.1983), 1-4).

⁴⁰ Chute, "A Good Day", 34. The websites which state that Françoise Gaudet was born in France include: Ricky LeBlanc, "Françoise Gaudet," April 11, 2003. <http://genealogy.leblancnelus/475.htm>, Viewed December 14, 2004; Heritage Family Tree Deluxe, "Marin-Turpin Genealogy," October 14, 2004, <http://www.marin-turpin.com/aqwg70.htm>, Viewed December 14, 2004. French linguist Geneviève Massignon states in her study of Acadia that Babin came from France with Marie Mercier (Geneviève Massignon, *Les Parlers Français d'Acadie : Enquête Linguistique* (Paris : 1962), 1:58).

truth, the claims of the locally-descended people self-identifying as “Métis” should be accepted. “Except for a few notable exceptions,” she writes, “historians, including Father Clarence d’Entremont, have tried in vain to reconstruct patterns of intermarriage between Acadians and Mi’kmaq prior to 1680.” This would appear, however, to contradict the neat separation between the Mi’kmaq and “Métis” kinship models that she presents.⁴¹

William Wicken’s paper, “The Metis in Southwestern Nova Scotia” relies upon documented encounters between colonial officials and people believed to be of mixed-ancestry, and from this Wicken makes the leap that these people were part of a ‘Métis’ (his word) community. He notes that “People were Metis because that is how they were perceived by both the English and the French.”⁴² This is a difficult assertion to make, however, when the word “Métis” is never uttered in a contemporary document. Wicken’s hypothesis is that these people were outsiders, and it was this outsider mentality that forged a separate identity among the Mi’kmaq, the French, and the mixed-ancestry population itself. What Wicken fails to consider, which will be addressed later, is the extent to which members of the prominent families of the colony, including the Doucets, the Petitpas, the d’Entremonts, the LeBorgnes and the Saint-Castins, married Indian women.

3.1 Conclusions

Few conclusions can be drawn from the secondary literature. Most historians have either concentrated their efforts on the aboriginal peoples of Nova Scotia, on the Acadians, or on the British-French conflict, and most have been satisfied to gloss over the subject of intermarriage with the Indians, often trusting Rameau de St. Père as a reliable source. There is certainly evidence of individuals of mixed-ancestry in Acadia/Nova Scotia, but the degree to which intermarriage took place is not clear, and there is contradictory evidence as to whether or not these individuals resided in distinct communities. William Wicken states as a fact, in his 2004 article, that most historians generally accept the existence of what they call “Métis” communities in Nova Scotia, but this is something of an over-generalization. Many historians have accepted that conclusion, but have not researched the question themselves; they have merely accepted the writings of Rameau de St. Père at face value, or accepted the writing of Andrew Hill Clark (who himself accepted Rameau de St. Père’s work). Others, such as Naomi Griffiths, Olive Dickason and Geoffrey Plank actually reject the notion of mixed-ancestry communities, although accepting a more nuanced view of mixed-ancestry people.

As for the study area, Wicken and Chute appear to have been the only ones to have focussed exclusively upon it. Griffiths tends to ignore it, as it was not a major centre of Acadian settlement, as did others, such as Clark. Again, most historians, when it came to this study area and this subject, appear to have been satisfied in taking Rameau de St. Père’s at face value. Chute and Wicken attempted to look closer, but their work is hampered by the fact that the primary documents simply do not appear to exist.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 33n.

⁴² William Wicken, “The Metis in Southwestern Nova Scotia” (2004), 23.

4.0 Brief History of Acadia

4.1 The Mi'kmaq

The aboriginal people of the peninsula of Nova Scotia were the Mi'kmaq, an Algonquian people, who were identified as the "Souriquois" by the earliest explorers.⁴³ The Mi'kmaq population at the time of the initial European contact is unclear. Anthropologist Ralph Pastore notes that the early 16th century Jesuit missionary, Father Biard, estimated the number of Mi'kmaq in the peninsula to range between 3,000 and 3,500, but Pastore believes that this is a post-epidemic figure. Estimates of Nova Scotia's pre-epidemic population range from 4,500-50,000, but a figure of about 12,000, Pastore thinks, is more consistent with current assumptions on the carrying capacity of the area.⁴⁴

Pastore notes that because the Mi'kmaq were not sedentary, it is difficult to determine what their population was during various periods in the past. Various French and British officials and clerics, at different times, would attempt to undertake censuses of the Indian populations, but how many individuals a census taker found at any one place would depend upon the time of year the census was taken. Indians could also change the locations of their villages from one year to the next. Most of the early censuses do not even include the Mi'kmaq. The first that did was the 1708 census.⁴⁵

The first post-Treaty of Utrecht estimate of the Mi'kmaq population (in 1716) put their numbers in peninsular Nova Scotia at 260 families. In 1722 the population was reported as 838 persons, but by 1739 it had increased slightly, to 600 warriors. In 1748 it was reported by the French Missionary Le Loutre that there were 1,000 Mi'kmaq in peninsular Nova Scotia.⁴⁶ In 1758, however, with the loss of the French inhabitants who had provided food, shelter and intelligence, and an increased British military presence, numbers declined dramatically as many Mi'kmaq crossed into French territory, or were starved out. A petition by Pierre Landry of Cape Sable stated that there were only twelve Indians capable of bearing arms between Cape Sable and Lunenburg.⁴⁷

⁴³ Philip K. Bock, "Micmac", in *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 15 (Washington: 1978), 110.

⁴⁴ Ralph Pastore, "The Sixteenth Century: Aboriginal Peoples and European Contact" in Phillip A. Buckner and John G. Reid, eds. *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History* (Toronto: 1994), 34-35. Pastore mentions that estimates of the morbidity rate for the northeast have ranged from 55 to 98 percent. Also, it is not thought that the epidemics really began at the time of the first contact. Smallpox, he states, would not have survived amongst a small crew over the course of a long sixteenth century voyage, particularly among adults who had probably been exposed to the disease as children. Pastore argues that it was not until later, when colonists arrived with young children, that these diseases began taking their toll on the Indian populations. It was therefore during the seventeenth century, not the sixteenth, that epidemics struck the northeast.

⁴⁵ B-006, LAC, MG 18, File 18.

⁴⁶ Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists*, 32.

⁴⁷ C-012, LAC, MG 21, Add. MSS 19073, ff. 59-60.

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The basic socio-political structure in Mi'kmaq society, according to Pastore, was the "bilocal extended family," consisting of a leader, some of his married sons and daughters and their families, other relatives on the side of both the chief and his wife, and some unrelated individuals. A number of these families formed a summer village, and the population of these villages has been estimated at between 30 to 200 people, under the direction of a Sagamore, or Chief. Pastore finds no indication that the Sagamores had power over any band other than their own, or that there were specialities of occupation. There was also no indication, he states, that they were organized along tribal lines. Mi'kmaq chiefs, however, seemed to have possessed more prestige and authority than was usual under band societies. In summer Sagamores would gather to consult. There are some reports that the Mi'kmaq territory of Nova Scotia was divided into seven districts, and that district chiefs would occasionally meet in grand council.⁴⁸

The study area, comprising southwest Nova Scotia, was known in the Indian language as *Kespu'kwit* [or Gespogoit], which is roughly translatable as "the land at the end." According to a 1739 French Report, the Mi'kmaq in *Kespu'kwit* were divided into two distinct regional bands, the Port Royal and Cape Sable Bands. While the Port Royal Band ranged from the upper part of St. Mary's Bay to what is now Windsor, along the Bay of Fundy, the Cape Sable Band hunted and fished along the Atlantic Coast, from St. Mary's Bay to what is now Queen's County, roughly to the Medway River.⁴⁹ The village of Mirliguesche, and the mouth of the La Have River, appear to have been the home of another band, as the territory itself was part of an area the Mi'kmaq referred to as *Segepenegatig*.⁵⁰

Many earlier visitors to Acadia noted that the Mi'kmaq tended to have family hunting territories, which were assigned to families by the chiefs. The origin of this practice is somewhat controversial. Janet Chute seems to argue that these were a traditional feature of Mi'kmaq society, which was eventually copied by the "metis" and the Acadians. Pastore, on the other hand, believes that the assignment of these territories was unlikely a practice of aboriginal origin, and in all probability the practice grew out of Mi'kmaq participation in the European fur trade. As was happening throughout the Northeast, the chiefs, or Sagamores, acquire increasing power due to their special relationships with the newcomers.⁵¹

The Mi'kmaq had no permanent settlements, but there were traditional and well defined sites that they continued to be occupied year after year, residing in longhouses of up to 20 or 30 people in each. In the study area Mi'kmaq villages were often located at La Have, Port Medway, Port Rossignol (Shelburne), Ministiguesch (Port la Tour) and Ouimakagan (near Pubnico).⁵²

The use and occupation of land by the Mi'kmaq went in yearly cycles. Small bands frequented the coasts in January for smelt, tomcod, seals and walrus. In February and March, however, the Mi'kmaq

⁴⁸ Pastore, "The Sixteenth Century", 35-37.

⁴⁹ Chute, "A Good Day", 29-30.

⁵⁰ Bock, "Micmac", 110.

⁵¹ Pastore, "The Sixteenth Century", 37; Chute, "A Good Day", 31.

⁵² Wicken, "26 August, 1726", 9n.

moved into the interior and were dependant upon the hunt for large game such as moose. This was the toughest time of year, writes L.F.S. Upton, as success in hunting was to a large degree dependent on the snow cover. Not enough snow, and the game could not be tracked, or it could move too fast if it was located. An abnormal winter caused a starving time. The rest of the year, however, would produce more than enough to support life. By the end of March the Mi'kmaq returned to the coasts to fish and gather wild plants. Some cultivation was also undertaken. As October approached, the villages broke into smaller units that went inland to hunt. This cycle however, became disrupted after European contact, when more emphasis was placed on the gathering of fur-bearing animals.⁵³

4.2 French/Acadian Settlement, 1632-1713

Between 1605 and 1632 there were three unsuccessful attempts to establish permanent settlements along the Annapolis Basin. These settlements were funded by French and Scottish merchants with the purposes of prospering from the fish and fur trade. All three were led by noblemen who agreed to establish permanent settlements in exchange for profits from fish and furs.

In 1603 Pierre Du Gua, Sieur de Monts, received a ten year monopoly from Henry IV. After his first scurvy-plagued year on St. Croix River, in present-day New Brunswick, he relocated his small post to Port Royal. Du Monts had difficulty in keeping other Europeans from trading with the Indians, and as a result he could not satisfy his debts. In 1607 the King withdrew the monopoly and the settlement was abandoned. In 1608 the settlement was purchased by the Baron de Biencourt, who established a settlement at Port Royal two years later in order to trade for furs with the Indians. The settlement was plundered by Samuel Argall, a privateer from Virginia, however, who destroyed the settlement in October 1613. Most of the survivors were transported back to France the following year, but a few, numbering 18-20 stayed behind, led by Biencourt's son, Jean de Biencourt, and Charles de La Tour. In 1629 La Tour was appointed governor of Acadia. According to a report written around 1643 by an unnamed author:

Biencourt courant pas les bois avec 18 ou 20 hommes se meslant avec kes suavages et vivant d'une vie libertine et infame comme bestes brutes sans aucune exercise de Religion nayant pas mesme le soin de faire de baptiser les enfans procréez d'eux et de ces pauvres miserables femmes⁵⁴

In competition with the French, the King of Scotland granted Acadia to Sir William Alexander, under its new name of Nova Scotia. In 1629 a Scottish settlement was founded at Port Royal by Sir William, and 70 people were settled along the Annapolis Basin. Thirty settlers died the next winter, and most of the survivors returned to England in 1632, after the signing of the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye.⁵⁵

⁵³ Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists*, 2.

⁵⁴ Wicken, "Encounters", 210-211; LAC, MG 7, 1, A2, Vol. 15621, ff. 265-266, Reel C-9192.

⁵⁵ Treaty between England and France, concluded March 29, 1632 at St. Germain-en-Laye in France. It returned New France, which had been captured by the English in 1628-1629, to Louis XIII (*The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2076).

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in which the British abandoned their attempts at colonization. Some of the Scottish settlers stayed behind, and married into French families.⁵⁶

The next settlement was led by a consortium of over 100 merchants and noblemen (Compagnie des Cent Associes) who received exclusive rights from the King of France to settle the territory and collect all resulting revenues. In 1632 Isaac de Razilly was appointed the Lieutenant Governor of New France, and some time later he embarked with three ships containing tradesmen and farmers.⁵⁷ They arrived at the mouth of the La Have River in September of the same year. The population of the settlement fluctuated, with *engagés* (contract labourers) and tradesmen arriving through the summer and returning in winter. During the first winter, 200 people, mostly men, wintered at La Have, only 164 survived. Little contact appears to have been made with La Tour's settlements at Cap Sable and on the St. John River, in present-day New Brunswick.⁵⁸

Razilly died in 1636, and those '*engagés*' who were still at La Have, perhaps 100 people, were moved across to the Bay of Fundy, to settle at Port Royal. Leadership of the colony was assumed by Razilly's assistant, Charles de Menou d'Aulnay Charnisay (afterwards referred to as d'Aulnay), who viewed La Tour as a competitor, and the competition between these two men seriously hampered the development of the colony, as their dispute flared into open warfare. Louis XIII and his ministers attempted to settle it, but only made matters worse when each man was awarded territory which included the trading posts of the other. D'Aulnay, through his connections at the royal court, managed to gain the support of the King and his ministers, however, and La Tour was banished in 1645. La Tour did not admit defeat, though, and looked to New England for support. D'Aulnay died in 1650, soon after his triumph, and La Tour returned to marry d'Aulnay's widow and again became governor of the colony in 1651. His regime was short-lived, for Port Royal was then captured by the Englishman Major Robert Sedgewick in 1654. La Tour then pledged allegiance to the new regime, thus protecting his investments. After a few years he retired, and sold his fur trading rights to Sir Thomas Temple, who served as the British governor of the colony, and La Tour's partner.⁵⁹

The colony grew very slowly. William Wicken notes that between 1636 and 1654 the population of Port Royal climbed from 100 to between 200 and 300. Furs were important, but most people engaged in farming the rich soil created by the tidal currents. These lands were unusable until dykes had been built to stop tidal flows and the soil desalinized. This was a long and laborious process, and it usually took at least two years before the land could be farmed, but there was little other suitable land available.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Wicken, "Encounters", 211.

⁵⁷ As will be discussed later in the section on La Have, the question of who was sent and when they actually arrived is still a matter of some controversy.

⁵⁸ Wicken, "Encounters", 212. There are a number of spellings for La Have, including La Hève, Le Have, La Haive, and Le Havre. This paper will use the current spelling, La Have, unless another appears in a direct quote.

⁵⁹ Wicken, "Encounters", 213; *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 1:594-595.

⁶⁰ Dièreville, *Relation*, 94.

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The Treaty of Breda returned Acadia to the French Crown in 1667,⁶¹ but it was 1670 before Temple could be persuaded to relinquish the colony. The first French Governor after the treaty, Andigné de Grandfontaine, established his residence at Pentagoet, a fur trading post on the Penobscot River. This was destroyed by Dutch privateers in 1674 and authority was once more transferred to Port Royal. War continued to envelope the region between 1689 and 1726. Port Royal was captured by the British once again in 1690, and in 1691 the French authority was transferred to Nashwaak, 60 miles inland on the St. John River, where it remained until 1700.⁶²

Although Port Royal returned to French control in 1691, the threat of New England was still present. In a report by M. Tibierge, an Agent of the Acadia Trading Company, dated September 30, 1695, it was stated that "The settlers of Port Royal do almost no trade with the French of the St. John River because of their fear that, if the English learned of it, they would be burned out."⁶³ New Englanders attempted to capture Port Royal again in 1707, but the two attempts launched that year both ended in failure. The Governor of Acadia, Subercase, attempted to reorganize the colony's defences, but he was unsuccessful. In 1710 troops from New England, led by Colonel Nicholson, captured Port Royal, and the conquest was recognized by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.⁶⁴

Immigration to Acadia prior to 1713 was very modest. Except for the descendants of Charles La Tour's first wife, it is improbable that any Acadians trace their ancestry to settlers in Acadia at the time of de Monts and the first settlement at Port Royal. According to Placide Gaudet, a late 19th-early 20th century historian of the Acadians, the Acadians are descendants of those who came with Razilly between 1632 and 1636, those brought by D'Aulnay between 1639 and 1649, those who came with La Tour when he returned in 1651, and small number, perhaps less than 100, who came between 1670 and 1700.⁶⁵

Very little of that immigration seems to have gone into the study area. Some may have gone to the seignury at Pobomcoup (Pubnico), some to the fur trading post at Fort Lomeron, near Cape Sable, and others at La Have/Mirliguesche, but the 1699 report of Governor Villebon, presented later, shows almost no French inhabitants living along the coast of the study area.⁶⁶

⁶¹ The Treaty of Breda was concluded on July 21, 1667 between England and the Netherlands and between England and France. The former treaty recognized the English conquest of New Amsterdam (New York) while the latter restored part of St. Christopher's Island in the West Indies to England, in exchange for England's ceding of Acadia back to France (*The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 294).

⁶² Wicken, "Encounters", 214-215.

⁶³ M. Tibierge, "Report" in Webster, John Clarence, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century; Letters, Journals and Memoirs of Joseph Robineau de Villebon* (St. John, NB, 1934), 141.

⁶⁴ Arsenault, *History of the Acadians*, 68-70.

⁶⁵ Placide Gaudet, "Acadian Genealogy and Notes" in *Canadian Archives Report*, 1905. 2: Appendix A, iii.

⁶⁶ Villebon, "Memoir on the Settlements and Harbors from Minas at the Head of the Bay of Fundy to Cape Breton." John Clarence Webster, *Acadia at the End of the 17th Century* (1934; reprinted, St. John: 1979), 134-135.

4.2.1 Administration

Acadia was administered by a Governor appointed by the King of France. Supposedly the Governor of Acadia was subordinate to the Governor of New France, but as Brebner noted, Acadia was about as isolated from Canada as from France, as communication between the two was difficult and the Governor received many of his instructions directly from France.⁶⁷ The Governor of Acadia, however, seems to have been unable to make subordinate appointments, and vicious disputes between officials, such as between Governor Meneval (1687-1690) and the King's attorney, Mathieu de Goutin, roiled the colony.

Furthermore, the colony received little in the way of financial or military support from France. De Chesneau, the Intendant of New France, complained about the situation in a letter to France dated November 13, 1681:

Acadia, which belongs to us and lies adjoining to those countries [the American colonies], is in almost a similar position, and has the same advantages; and navigation is open there throughout the year, with the exception of only two months in certain places. Yet nothing is done there; and although 'tis inhabited by about five hundred French, including both sexes and all ages, they depend altogether for support on the English, and to obtain their necessaries, carry to the latter a few furs, for which they are content to trade with the Indians.

Their poverty is not the only misfortune of these French; their discords are much greater. Among them there is neither order nor justice; and those who are sent hence to command them, pillage them, and, notwithstanding, continue themselves in the most abject misery.

The English do much more than enhance the value of their own property; they carry off what we neglect.⁶⁸

The circumstances in Acadia were somewhat unique. The colony was often under British control (1629-1632; 1654-1670 and 1691-1692), and even when it was not, it was frequently dependant on British merchants for survival. The colonial administrators appointed by France, when they were not too busy fighting amongst themselves, showed themselves to be too weak to either support or restrain the Acadians. The result was that the Acadians displayed a severe apathy towards all politics, and during the French Regime the government seems to have been more or less ignored. The basic unit of actual government appears to have been the family, and the families acted fairly independently of the Government. The Acadians, for example, simply opened up land without bothering with the

⁶⁷ Brebner: *New England's Outpost*, 44.

⁶⁸ E.B. O'Callaghan, Ed, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1853-87), 9:166.

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registration of title.⁶⁹ This practice carried on into the British regime, causing one British official to state in 1731 that “They are a very ungovernable people.”⁷⁰

The Governor of Acadia stated in 1686 that “It is not surprising that the Acadians lean towards the English, for they rarely hear talk of France, but are brought the necessities each year by the English.”⁷¹ By the 1690s, French officials were worried that they were losing the support of their own population. The Governor of New France reported to his superiors in 1691, after the recapture of Port Royal from the British, that:

[Sieur de Bonnaventure] went with Sieur de Villebon to Port Royal, and having landed, hoisted the French, in place of the English, flag which he found there. The settlers appeared to him to be very well disposed, but it will be difficult to keep them so, if they be not protected against the incursions of the English, who by the facility they possess of reaching that place, could give them reason to repent of any excessive attachment they might entertain towards us.⁷²

Despite warnings such as these, the level of support for the Colony from France remained low, and in both 1707 and 1710, when the British threatened Port Royal, Governor Subercase was unable to obtain any significant assistance despite his repeated requests. This had a detrimental effect on the morale of the colony, as Rameau de St. Père described:

Subercase appealed to Saint-Castin and other captains of the Indians, but the latter were disgusted with the parsimony and negligence of the French government. They had received no more gifts, not even the normal ration of war munitions, they also felt discouraged by the comparatively small number and poverty of the French against the ever-increasing multitude and strength of the English.

... even the Acadians themselves were discouraged. Feeling as if they were isolated and abandoned in a desert by the mother country to face the persistent and passionate animosity of the English, they were in the end seized with an uneasiness bordering on terror.⁷³

One effect of this state of affairs was, as had been predicted by Du Chesneau, a sense of apathy towards the French Regime and politics in general. As Brebner stated in *New England's Outpost*, the Acadians “learned to expect little from France and to ignore the English as much as possible.”⁷⁴ The

⁶⁹ Naomi Griffiths, *The Acadians: the Creation of a People* (Toronto, 1973), 12.

⁷⁰ Lt. Gov. Armstrong, to the Lords of Trade, October 5, 1731, in Thomas B. Akins, *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: 1869), 92.

⁷¹ Griffiths, *The Acadians: the Creation of a People*, 13.

⁷² O'Callaghan, *Documents*, 9:526.

⁷³ Rameau de St. Père, quoted in Arsenault, *History of the Acadians*, 68-69.

⁷⁴ Brebner, *New England's Outpost*, 44.

lasting result of this was an alienation between the Acadians and French officials in Louisbourg and New France, who were displeased at the lack of cooperation they received from the Acadians in their attempts to retake the colony after 1745. In many respects, Acadia was a separate entity from the colony on the St. Lawrence. Benjamin Sulte, a Quebec historian, wrote in 1905 that the colonies had very separate origins, and that the Acadians and Canadians “have lived apart for more than two and one-half centuries now.”⁷⁵

4.2.2 Patterns of Settlement and Demographics

After 1632 until 1636, the primary Acadian settlement was La Have, with a few small trading posts at various locations along the southern coast. After 1636 however, La Have declined in importance, as Port Royal once more became the colony’s capital. As the colony grew, settlers began to occupy the frontage of the Annapolis River. By the end of the seventeenth century, the surplus population had begun to settle along the shores of the Bay of Fundy. These settlements continued to grow, and by the time of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, they had eclipsed Port Royal in size.

After 1713 the French encouraged Acadians to relocate to Isle Royale (Cape Breton, the location of Louisbourg). Poor soil and a reticence to abandon their land led to only 65 families relocating, most of whom were from Port Royal and were engaged in non-agricultural activities. The majority of those who emigrated had returned to Acadia by 1726.⁷⁶ The communities around the Bay of Fundy continued to grow, while the French population on the Atlantic coast, which includes the study area increased slowly, if at all.

The chart below shows the changes in settlement patterns as time passed. It shows the growth of the communities on the Bay of Fundy, including the Minas Basin. These communities, which included Beaubassin, Mines, Cobequit, Piziguit and Chignecto, are now considered to have been the heart of Acadia. By 1737 each of them was larger than Port Royal. The following chart, prepared by Wicken and based upon census figures, shows the growth of the major Acadian population centres. All of them, except Port-Royal, are at the northern end of the Bay of Fundy. None of them are in the study area.⁷⁷

Fig. 1

<u>Population:</u>	<u>1671</u>	<u>1686</u>	<u>1703</u>	<u>1737</u>
Port Royal	358	592	485	1,406
Mines	-	57	507	2,113
Cobequit	-	-	87	-
Piziguit	-	-	-	1,623

⁷⁵ *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Series 2, 12:11-13.

⁷⁶ Wicken, “Encounters”, 219-220.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 216.

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Chignecto	- _____	<u>127</u>	<u>245</u>	<u>1,816</u>
Totals	358	776	1,324	6,958

Wicken notes that between 1671 and 1755 the Acadian population multiplied almost 30 times, while in the same period immigration from France was minimal. Griffiths asserts that more people came into Acadia from New France than has been previously credited.⁷⁸ Still, it appears that emigration to Acadia from either France or New France was slight after 1700, and especially after the Treaty of Utrecht.

During the research, no study was located which attempted to calculate whether such a phenomenal growth rate was possible without more immigration or intermarriage with the Mi'Kmaq than has been documented. At the same time the phenomenal Acadian fertility rate was an exception within the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As Griffiths wrote:

The Acadians were a people of unusually large and flourishing families and their food supply was adequate and varied enough not only for the expansion of the population but for the maintenance of a high level of fertility. Further, diseases such as typhoid, smallpox and cholera never reached epidemic proportions in the colony.⁷⁹

Dièreville, during his visit in 1707, was astounded at the size of Acadian families, some of which numbered 18 or more children:

Deux couples voisin, & Bien unis par l'amour & l'hymen, ont fait à l'envy l'un de l'autre chacun dix-huit Enfants tous vivans, c'est être fort habiles en ce métier ; cependant un autre couple a été jusqu'à vingt-deux, & en promet encore davantage.⁸⁰

Griffiths sites two examples: Pierre Comeau arrived in the colony in 1636 and was married in Port Royal in 1641. He had nine children and his grandchildren by four of his sons numbered 46. From their sons came 68 children. Daniel LeBlanc, who was married in Port Royal in 1645 had 7 children, including six sons. There were 52 grandchildren from the male line alone, and the great-grandchildren numbered over 200.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Naomi Griffiths, in private conversation with Public History Inc. researcher Ken Brown, November 25, 2004.

⁷⁹ Griffiths, "The Acadians", xx.

⁸⁰ Dièreville, 257.

⁸¹ Griffiths, "The Acadians", xx.

5.0 Overview of Study Area, 1671-1763

5.1 Description of the Atlantic Coast, From Cap Fourchu to Lunenburg

The study area consists of the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia, from present-day Yarmouth (known as Cap-Fourchu during the French Regime), to the site of present-day Lunenburg, which was the location of an Indian village named Mirliguesche.⁸² At the time of the initial French contact the entire area appears to have been forested. Fish and other wildlife were reputed to have been abundant, but the rocky nature of the coastline made navigation treacherous, except in a few locations. The poor soils also made agriculture difficult. The exceptions to this were at Pobomcoup, the present-day Pubnico, and at the mouth of the La Have River, near Mirliguesche. Both places seem to have had good anchorages and sufficient topsoil to establish agricultural communities, although they would never rival the communities along the Bay of Fundy. Other communities would include Ministigueche (the present-day Barrington) and Port Rossignol (present-day Liverpool).⁸³

Information regarding areas inhabited by Europeans and their descendants along the Atlantic coast is scant. The lack of information is due to the isolation of the coast from the principal European garrisons at Port Royal and Louisbourg. Except for a brief flurry of activity in the late 1680s, the Eastern coast was not visited by French officials until 1710, and only rarely by parish priests.⁸⁴

A report dated October 27, 1699, and issued under the authority of Villebon, the French Governor, reports on the settlements and geography of Acadia. As for the places located in the study area, Villebon remarks upon their potential, but it is obvious that settlement was, as late as 1699, very sparse:

Eleven leagues south south east from the Grand Passage is Cap Fouchu [sic]. It has a fair harbor and the cod appear there early, and the fishing begins at the end of March. Good gardens can be made there, and there is plenty of hay for livestock, and grain sufficient to load more than 100 shallops.

From Cape Fouchu, on the same course, the Isles de Tousquet are 3 leagues away. Half way is a river with much meadow-land; its entrance is suitable for moderate sized vessels, and it has a good beach. From the Isles of Tousquet, the Riviere de Pomoncoup is five miles east north-east. The soil along this river is fertile, and there is good fishing within sight of land. One of the sons of the Sieur d'Entremont lives there with his wife

⁸² Mirliguesche has been spelled a number of ways. It will be spelled the way it is presented here, unless another is used in a direct quote.

⁸³ See map. Descriptions of the coastline of the study area can also be found in *The Works of Samuel de Champlain* (Toronto: 1922), 1:237-250; and Nicolas Denys, *Description and Natural History of the Coasts of America* (Toronto: 1908), 139-155. These authors, however, mention almost nothing of the inhabitants along the shore, but instead focus on the resources to be exploited.

⁸⁴ De Meulles report on La Have for 1686 is one of the few reports on study area extant (E-003, LAC, MG 1, Series C11D, Vol. 3, Fol. 104-114). It is a measure of the isolation that when Paul Guédry was born in Mirliguesche in 1701, he was not baptized by a priest until the missionary Félix Pain visited the community in 1705 (B-003, LAC, MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 24-1, Reel C-1869, pp. 64-65).

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and eight children. When the Sr. de Villebon visited him in the spring, the peas and the wheat were well up; he has 30 horned cattle, three sheep and 18 pigs; also a water-mill.

From Pomoncoup to Cap Sable it is only five leagues south $\frac{1}{4}$ south-east. There, fishing is abundant. Four or five leagues off shore to the eastward, are the Isles de Loups-marins; only four of them are wooded and the fourth (sic) is a rock. A fairly extensive killing of seals can be made on this rock, as well as on the island which lies farthest out to sea.

Inside the Cap de Sable Islands is the Passage de Bacareau, where a settler lives with his wife and seven children. He grows grain enough for his own needs, and has six horned cattle. There is land enough there for five or six more families.

From Cape de Sable it is three leagues east north-east to port Latour which can be entered by vessels of moderate size. There is a good beach and fine fishing within sight of the harbor.

Following the same course a league from Port La Tour is Cap Nègre with an island at the entrance; the channel is to the north and is navigable for ships.

From Cape Nègre [sic] two leagues east $\frac{1}{4}$ north is the Rivière des Rochelois [Round Bay River]; the entrance is good only for small craft; there is an abundance of red oak. Half-a-league beyond the Rivière des Rochelois east south-east is Port-Razoir [later Port Roseway; now Shelburne], one of the finest harbors on the coast. Its entrance is suitable for all vessels and there is abundant fishing. The soil is suitable for cultivation and there are many red oaks. Another of Sr. d'Entremont's sons lives here with his wife and four children, ten or twelve horned cattle and some sheep. There is another settler with a wife and two children. He is not prosperous but is a capable fisherman.

From Port Razoir to the Rivière des Jardins [Jordan River] it is two leagues north north east. There is good land on this river. From there to Port Joli it is a league and a half east south-east. The harbor is formed by islands and the south-east passage is good. On the largest of these islands is a beach sufficient for about 20 shallops and good fishing is within sight.

From Port Joli to Port à Ours [Port Hebert] is three leagues, east north-east; there is a river but only moderate sized craft can enter it. Five leagues north-east of Port à Ours is Port Mouton. An island at the entrance forms a harbor about three leagues around; a good beach and good fishing.

Following the same course, it is three leagues from Port Mouton to Port Rossignol [Liverpool Bay]. The river has an entrance suitable for vessels. There are quantities of red oak and the soil can be cultivated; the beach is extensive and good fishing is at hand. Two leagues east $\frac{1}{4}$ north-east of Port Rossignol is Port Maltois [Port Medway], which has a very fine river with a good channel and good land which can be cultivated. Here also are many red oaks.

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Three leagues from Port Maltois east southeast, lies La Hève [La Have], which has without a doubt the best harbour and the most magnificent situation on the east coast. Like the others it is surrounded by hills but has much more land suitable for cultivation. It is true there is not much beach available for a large fishing industry, but it could be extended; moreover, flakes could be used, and they without question produce the finest quality of fish. The old fort [Fort La Have] is at the mouth of the very beautiful river, and vessels of 50 guns can enter and anchor under its cannon. Lumber mills could be built, for pine and spruce and fir are plentiful. Two families are at present living there. There is plenty of hunting, and many good things to eat, such as herring and mackerel in season, eels at all times as well as plaice, lobsters, oysters and other shell-fish.

From la Hève [La Have] to the fort at Mirliguesche [Lunenburg] is three leagues east northeast, and half a league by a convenient portage. The soil is fair and there are a quantity of red oaks.⁸⁵

The coastline of the study area changed very little throughout the entire period covered by this paper. In 1791 the British missionary John Clarkson wrote that “the aspect of this part of the country is uncommonly wild, an illimitable wood presenting itself for every point of view.”⁸⁶

In 1708 Subercase, the French Governor, proposed that a new naval facility be established at La Have. He noted that the Acadians of the area were very skilled in their woodworking. It appears, however, that nothing of the sort was ever constructed.⁸⁷ After 1710 and the British conquest, there was even less official contact, as British officials and soldiers rarely ventured beyond their garrison at Annapolis Royal. Until the establishment of Halifax in 1749, the east coast appears to have only been visited by New England traders and fishers. In a letter to the Lords of Trade dated July 23, 1753, Governor Hopson listed a number of communities in Nova Scotia, Cape Sable among them, “with whom we have very little communication.”⁸⁸

In 1734 the coast of the study area was mapped by Cyprien Southack, who detailed both French and Mi'kmaq settlements,⁸⁹ but it was not officially surveyed until Charles Morris, the Surveyor General, produced a map of Nova Scotia in 1755 which listed only a few settlements along the Atlantic Coast. From Cape St. Marys to Halifax, Morris only noted settlements at the mouth of the Pubnico (Pugnico) River (which he labeled as “French Inhabitants”, at Cape Sable (which Morris called “Vil

⁸⁵ Webster, *Acadia*, 134-135.

⁸⁶ John Clarkson. *Clarkson's Mission to America 1791-1792* (Halifax: 1971), 48.

⁸⁷ C-006, LAC, MG 1, Series C11D, Vol. 6, Fol. 141, Reel F-173.

⁸⁸ Hopson to the Lords of Trade, July 23, 1753, in Akins, *Selections*, 198-199.

⁸⁹ G-001, LAC, National Map Collection, NMC 9850. See also G-002, NMC 108; G-003, NMC 134124 and G-005, NMC 168.

Dentremont”), along the north side of the La Have River, and at Mirliguesche/Lunenburg (the names are not marked).⁹⁰

5.2 Land Use and Lifestyle

Agricultural crops were not extensively grown in this area as the settlers were principally engaged in fishing, hunting, trapping and perhaps trading with the Mi'kmaq. Garden crops were raised, but the 1686 census indicates that land involved was small, with only 2.5 arpents (2.1 acres) in total being farmed at La Hève and Mirligueche.⁹¹ The marshlands provided fodder and some livestock was raised. The 1693 census showed 54 cattle and 42 pigs owned by the 4 or 5 families inhabiting Pubnico.⁹²

The extent of the fur trade in this period is not known, but the fur trade in peninsular Nova Scotia is thought to have been small compared to that on the other side of the Bay of Fundy, in what is now New Brunswick. Furthermore, little is known about the details of the trade, for it was not organized in the same manner as it was in the Canadian west, with large companies and formal trading posts. Julian Gwyn, in his analysis of the fur trade in Nova Scotia, believes that previous historians have grossly overestimated the amount of fur taken from the peninsula. During the French period, most of the pelts from Acadia are thought to have gone to Europe by way of Boston, an arrangement that barely changed during the British period. After the collapse of the Company of New France in the 1660s, no major fur trading company operated in Acadia, and most of the trade was conducted by small sloops from New England, who would sail from harbour to harbour collecting furs in exchange for European goods and West Indian produce, such as sugar, molasses and brandy. This trade, Governor Philipps complained in 1720, carried away £9,000 to £10,000 worth of furs a year, with no duty being paid to the colonial government. It was 1730 before the first furs were shipped from Nova Scotia to Europe. In 1732 it was reported by the Council that the whole trade in the colony was being carried on by four or five Boston coasters, each of which made two or three round trips per year.⁹³

5.3 Demographics Over Time

The Atlantic shore, including the study area, remained sparsely populated. The chart below, which is an amalgamation of a number of censuses, shows that while the coastal population grew somewhat in the first years of the Colony, there was actually little growth between 1708 and 1748. The settlements of particular interest in this study are Mirligeuche, La Have, Port Rochelais, Cape Neigre, Port la Tour, Ministiguesh and Pubnico.⁹⁴ The 1748 figures are from estimates made by the missionary Le Loutre, and do not represent official census figures (communities within the study area are marked in **bold**):

⁹⁰ G-005, NMC 168.

⁹¹ B-001, LAC, MG 1, Series G1, Vol. 466, Reel F-768, 43-44.

⁹² B-001, LAC, MG 1, Series G1, Vol. 466, Reel F-768, 93-94.

⁹³ Julian Gwyn, “The Mi'kmaq, Poor Settlers, and the Nova Scotia Fur Trade, 1783-1853.” In *Proceedings of the 82nd Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association*. (Halifax: 2003), 3-4.

⁹⁴ Wicken, “Encounters”, 246.

Fig. 2

Population of Eastern Coast Communities in Nova Scotia According to 1671, 1687-88 and 1708 Censuses and 1748 Estimates								
Settlement:	Census Information						Estimate	
	1671		1687-88		1708		1748	
	Fam.	Pop.	Fam.	Pop.	Fam.	Pop.	Fam.	Pop.
Tatamagouche	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-
Mouscadabouet	-	13	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chegekkouk	-	-	-	-	-	-	7-8	-
[Unnamed]	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-
Chibouctou	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
Mirligueche	-	-	-	10	-	-	12-15	-
La Hève	-	-	-	12	8	42	4-5	-
Port Rochelais	-	-	-	20	3	15	-	-
Cape Neigre	2	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
Port la Tour	-	-	-	-	7	51	-	-
Ministiguesh	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-
Pubnico (Pobomkou)	2	8	-	22	-	-	15	-
Chebogue	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-
Totals	4	31	-	87	18	108	88	-

The 1689 census shows the comparison in population between Port Royal, the Bay of Fundy and the east coast settlements. Even at this early date the difference is quite significant (communities in the study area are marked in **bold**).⁹⁵

⁹⁵ B-001, LAC, MG I, Series G1, Vol. 466, Reel F-768, 59.

Fig. 3

Location	Married Men	Widowers	Married Women	Widows	Single Men	Boys	Single Women	Girls
Port Royal	77	3	77	7	43	112	46	96
Les Mines	29	1	29	1	13	48	8	35
Chignitou	8	0	8	2	6	19	12	28
Riviere St. Jean	4	0	4	0	7	1	1	0
Pismoncady	4	0	4	0	2	6	1	4
Lincous	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
Mages	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Petitplaisance	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Larigimagan	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Pentagoues	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Cap de Sable	6	0	6	0	2	5	0	5
La Heve	5	0	5	0	0	8	0	2
Chibouctou	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
Total	139	4	139	10	77	200	68	170

It can be seen that even at this early date, before the Bay of Fundy communities overtook Port Royal, that the population of the study area was extremely small by comparison. Meanwhile, the 1693 census found 32 individuals at Cape Sable and only six at La Have.⁹⁶ The reasons for this are unclear. It is not certain whether the population of the area actually dropped, or the person taking the census was less than rigorous in his work. Seeing as La Have was captured by the British in 1690, the first assumption has some validity. It should be noted that Pierre Lejeune *dit* Briard was found at La Have in the 1686 census, but was in Port Royal in 1693.⁹⁷

A census of the east coast of Acadia was undertaken in 1708, by the missionary, Father Gaulin. This census was perhaps the only one to include native people as well as the French Inhabitants. The table below lists the French and Indian populations for the three communities in the census which were located in the study area⁹⁸:

Fig. 4

Location	French	Indian
Cape Sable	7 families; 53 persons	20 families; 97 persons

⁹⁶ B-001, LAC, MG 1, Series G1, Vol. 466, 94-95, Reel F-768.

⁹⁷ B-001, LAC, MG 1, Series G1, Vol. 466, 43, 76, Reel F-768.

⁹⁸ B-006, LAC, MG 18, File 18. This census contains no other population figures for the French settlers, but does contain those for other Aboriginal communities in the colony, such as at Port Royal and the Bay of Fundy. The copy of the census in the possession of the National Archives of Canada is a typed transcription of an original document which was in the collection of A.J. Ayer (Newberry Museum) of Chicago. The transcription was made in 1908.

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Port Razoirs	3 families; 15 persons	-
La Have	8 families; 42 persons	22 families; 127 persons
Total	18 families; 110 persons	42 families; 224 persons

There were no official census figures for the Acadians in the study area in the 1740s, so figures have to be taken from contemporary reports. Two of the most quoted involve reports sent to New France by the French missionary Jean-Louis Le Loutre. In the first, dated September 12, 1745, the Governor of New France at Quebec, Marquis Beauharnois, and the *Intendant* of the colony, Gilles Hocquart, attempted to persuade their superior in France, Count Maurepas, that the sparse population of the Atlantic coast made the area an attractive one for a proposed French invasion that was to retake the colony. They pointed out that:

... besides, the fishery is more abundant on the east coast, which has 3 or 4 very excellent harbours capable of accommodating the largest sized vessels, vizt La Heve, Chibouctou, and Port la Tour [Milky Bay]. This coast is not settled; at Mirligueche, a small harbour three leagues east of La Hève, are only eight settlers, among the rest one Paul Guidry *alias* Grivois, a good coast pilot; again, west of La Hève, at a place called Little river, are two more settlers. Germain LeJeune, one of these, is intimately acquainted with the coast; the man named Boutin and his children live three leagues east to the entrance of Chibouctou. The attachment of these people to France can be relied on.⁹⁹

Beauharnois and Hocquart added that according to Le Loutre, the Indian population of "Acadia Proper," which to the French meant solely the peninsula of Nova Scotia, was two hundred.¹⁰⁰ It is not clear if Le Loutre meant Indian men capable of bearing arms, or Indians as a whole.

A similar report (author unknown), which again uses information supplied by Le Loutre, was sent in 1748. A common feature of these reports is that they inevitably make a distinction between French inhabitants and Indians. In 1748, Le Loutre states that there were 1,000 Indians (*sauvages*) who lived in the woods along the coast from Canso to Port Royal. These were "Mikmaks," he reported, and were "Catholic, as well being irreconcilable enemies of the British." Along the coast were a number of other settlements, and he listed each of them, along with an estimate of their population:

- There were 3-400 hundred Indians at Chigabenacadie, which was 12 *lievres* from Cobequit.
- At Chibouctou there were 15 French families.
- At Mirligueche, which was three lievres from La Haive (La Have), the missionary had just built a church. Le Loutre reported 20 French Families as well as 3-400 Indians assembled at the end of June.

⁹⁹ O'Callaghan, *Documents*, 10:10. Janet Chute claims that the "Paul Guidry dit Gravois" mentioned in this quotation is the same "Paul Labrador" described by Janet Chute in her paper as a 'Métis'. See the review of secondary literature, above, and the section on the founding of Lunenburg, below.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 14.

- At Ministigueche [Barrington Head] there were 10 French families.
- At Poubomcoup near Cape Sable, the missionary built a church for the 20 resident French families and the 2-300 savages which assembled there at the end of August.
- At Tebok [Chebogue] there were 25 French families.¹⁰¹

As demonstrated by the census figures and reports quoted above, the study area was very sparsely populated throughout both the British and French regimes. This fact makes it possible that much of what happened in the area escaped official scrutiny.

5.4 French Relations with the Mi'kmaq and Abenaki

It is generally believed that one of the reasons for the French success in bringing the Mi'kmaq of Acadia over to their side was that there was no reluctance on their part to integrate with aboriginal populations, as there was with the British.¹⁰² This intermixing in turn then produced people of mixed-ancestry, who served as bridges between the two cultures. Cornelius Jaenen, in his research on the subject, warns that this is far too simplistic. He notes that while it has previously been assumed that the missionary Clergy and Gallican officials consistently encouraged racial intermarriage in all regions of New France and at all times, a shift in position between Henri IV and Louis XIV went from encouraging mixed marriage to barely tolerating it.¹⁰³

Mason Wade, in his article in *The Handbook of North American Indians* (Vol. 4) notes that the French put much more effort into relationships with the Northern Algonquian bands than either the British or the Spanish did in their territories. An important reason for this, Wade claims, was that the French were confined to an area colder and less suited for agriculture than the English and Spanish, and needed to rely upon the native peoples for the gathering of pelts. Champlain's intervention in the Hurons' war with the Iroquois in 1603 cemented their alliance with the Algonquians, and the enmity of the Iroquois, who traded with the Dutch and then the British.¹⁰⁴

While the first adventurers to come to Acadia and New France were primarily interested in fish and furs, the Crown imposed colonization obligations upon them, and one of these obligations was to provide for Catholic missionary work. Missionary work began in earnest with the arrival of two Jesuits in Acadia in 1611, and four Recollects, a branch of the Franciscans who were favoured by

¹⁰¹ E-002, LAC, MG 1, Series C11A, Vol. 87, Fol. 364V, Reel F-87. Upton, for one, believes that the native population figures supplied by the Missionaries to their government officials were badly inflated, as the missionaries told the Crown what it wanted to hear. Andrew Clark Hill, on the other hand states that there were 25 "people" at Chebogue (Clark, *Acadia: The Geography*, 223).

¹⁰² See the 1756 letter of M. de la Varenne, a French officer stationed at Louisbourg, quoted in Ken Donovan, Ed. "A Letter from Louisbourg", in *Acadiensis*, 10 (1980): 118-119.

¹⁰³ Cornelius Jaenen, *The French Relationship of the Native Peoples of New France and Acadia* (Ottawa: 1984), 73-75.

¹⁰⁴ Mason Wade, "French Indian Policies." In *Handbook of North American Indians*, 4:23.

Champlain, to Canada in 1615. The role of the Jesuits in Acadia was cut short by Argall's sacking of Port Royal in 1613, and they were replaced by four more in Acadia in 1619.¹⁰⁵

The entrepreneur founders of New France and Acadia and the Recollets appear to have been working to cross-purposes. While the colonial elite seems to have been mostly engaged in the fur trade, the Recollets held an assembly at Quebec in 1620 which called for the resettlement of the Indians into French-style villages, where they would learn agriculture and lead sedentary lives. A seminary for the education of Indian children would be constructed, and Protestants would be excluded from the colony, as the Recollets believed that they were attracting some attention amongst the Indians.¹⁰⁶

In 1632 Cardinal Richelieu decided to assign Acadia to the Capuchins, a move which had the approval of Rome as it was attempting to bring all the foreign missions under the control of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Propaganda Fide), which was created in 1622. By 1655 the Capuchins had left, however, due to the armed conflict that had rocked Acadia.¹⁰⁷ They returned after the transfer of the colony back to France after 1670.

According to Jaenan, the first objective of the policy was to civilize and "humanize" the Native people, or reduce them to civility. The dominant mission theory sanctioned by the majority of religious institutes, by the Propaganda Fide, and which was supported by the French Crown, favoured a complete transformation of native societies. In order to implant an institutional church with resident clergy, parish organization and local support through tithing, it was thought necessary to render nomadic hunting peoples sedentary and agricultural, and to impose a European social order with its concepts of work and property. In other words, the Indians were to be assimilated into French society. This was to be accomplished in three different approaches: *métissage*, education and sedentarization.¹⁰⁸ In Acadia, education and sedentarization of the Mi'kmaq was not achieved, and the other approach, *métissage*, or the mixing of the French and native populations had unexpected consequences.

5.4.1 *Métissage*

Champlain is supposed to have told the Mi'kmaq of Port-Royal that "our young men will marry your daughters, and we shall be one people."¹⁰⁹ The goal was that the Indian allies would be pulled into

¹⁰⁵ Jaenan, *French Relationship*, 57-58.

¹⁰⁶ Jaenan, *French Relationship*, 57.

¹⁰⁷ Perhaps the best description of the missionary work undertaken in early Acadia, from the arrival of the Capuchins until their expulsion can be found in the 1656 letter from Father Ignace of Paris, one of the missionaries, to the Secretary of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. A transcription in both the original Latin and in English is found in the 1904 *Report Concerning the Canadian Archives* (Ottawa: 1905), 333-341. Handwritten transcripts of the letter are also found in the Archives of the Bishop of Montreal, in Latin, French and English. The original is in the Vatican Archives.

¹⁰⁸ Jaenan, *French Relationship*, 68. *Métissage*, the origin of the word Métis, is a means interbreeding, and is used in both botany and zoology.

¹⁰⁹ Wade, "French Indian Policies", 24

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French society by intermarriage, but as time went by it was realized by the colonial elite of both New France and of Acadia that the pull was the other way, with more young men going into the forest.¹¹⁰

The first mixing between the Indians and the French did not involve French settlers, but rather the fishers and fur traders who traded along the maritime coasts. These men, Jaenan states, had taken advantage of a certain permissiveness in Aboriginal societies and the absence of French authoritarian restraints. The children were then raised as Indians because, Jaenan claims, illegitimacy was a European concept related to Christian morality and hereditary rights. Later, he notes, French trappers and explorers who travelled to and from the hinterland in both Acadia and New France often found it convenient to adopt the practices of their native companions and acquired the services of a native woman to make camp, cook and serve as a mistress. Some of these led to more permanent unions.¹¹¹

It is not certain that what Jaenan is saying would have applied to Acadia, at least in the first years of the French presence. Marc Lescarbot, who accompanied Champlain to Acadia and who was in Port Royal at the time of Poutrincourt and de Monts, commented on the strict morality of the Mi'kmaq of that time. Fathers were very protective of their daughters, and potential suitors had to undertake what was in effect a probationary period. Husbands often killed wives who were unfaithful, and even the women themselves were not licentious by nature:

One might think that the nakedness of this people would make them more lecherous, but the contrary is the case. For just as Caesar praises the Germans for having in their ancient savage life such continence that they reputed it a thing most vile for a young man to have the company of a woman or girl before he reached the age of twenty; and for their part also they were not moved thereunto, although they all pell-mell, men and women, young and old, bathed together in the rivers; so also I can say for our savages, that I never saw amongst them any immodest gesture or look, and I venture to affirm that they are less given to that vice than we are in these parts.¹¹²

Lescarbot, however, in his chapter on the morality of the Indians, appeared to contradict himself, for earlier in the chapter he stated that:

The maidens of Brazil have the same liberty as those of Canada to prostitute themselves as soon as they are able. Indeed the fathers act as their panders, and think it an honour to give them to the men of these parts, in order to have children of their blood. But to consent to this would be a thing unworthy of a Christian, and, we see, to our great hurt, that God has severely punished this vice by the pox which was brought by the Spaniards from Naples, and by them transmitted to the French, a disease which before the discovery of those lands was unknown in Europe.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Clark, *Acadia*, 88-89.

¹¹¹ Jaenan, *French Relationship*, 70-71.

¹¹² Marc Lescarbot, *History of New France* (Toronto, 1907) 3:164.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 3:163.

Lescarbot concludes the chapter by stating that it was dangerous to mix “Christian” blood with that of the “infidel.”

Later, however, the social norms and mores in Acadia appear to have been destabilized due to the alcohol introduced to the Indians. Nicolas Denys, in his *Descriptions*, described some of the drunkenness involved in trading meetings with the Indians. He specifically states that the abandon displayed by the women was a change from their traditional behaviour, which was brought about by drink:

The women and the older girls also drink much but by stealth, and they go to hide themselves in the woods for that purpose. The sailors know well the rendezvous. It is those who furnish the brandy, and they bring them into so favourable a condition that they can do with them everything they will. All these frequentations of the ships have entirely ruined them, and they care no longer for Religion. They blaspheme the name of God, are thieves and cheats, and have no longer their former purity, neither women nor girls, at least those that drink. It is no longer a crime for a girl to bear children; indeed she is earlier married thereby, because there is assurance that she is not sterile. He who marries her takes her children. They do not divorce their wives as they did formerly, and they have not so many, not being good hunters. This is because of their drunkenness, and because the animals are not so abundant.¹¹⁴

There were also church marriages, which could either be a traditional marriage, performed by a priest, or it could be as the priest blessing a *mariages à la façon du pays*.¹¹⁵ Church marriages between Acadians and Indians appear to have been few, with less than a dozen, almost all before 1700.¹¹⁶

As Jaenan notes, the same trend away from *métissage* was happening in French policy, in both civil and religious spheres, as it was starting to be realized as the 17th century progressed that *métissage* was leading more Frenchmen into the forests than Indians into farming villages. Chute states in her paper that:

Acadian society proved far less feudalistic than its French counterpart. Youths, particularly younger sons from large families, freed from the shackles of obligations to a liege lord, often tried their skill at trading, only to find the Native way of life was more to their liking than farming. With the Company of New France's demise in 1663,

¹¹⁴ Denys, *Description*, 449-450.

¹¹⁵ Jaenan defines this term as a stable union, often producing numerous offspring, which lacks ecclesiastical sanction and blessing (Jaenan, “French Relationship”, 70).

¹¹⁶ The seventeenth century Indian-Acadian intermarriages will be dealt with below. The only known eighteenth century intermarriage was that of Jean Comeau to Catherine Le Jeune, at Port Royal on January 7, 1720. Her parents, Francois Joseph and Jeanne Le Jeune, are stated to be “*de la nation sauvage*.” This Jean Comeau (“Jean l’aîné”) was the older brother to the Jean Comeau who married Catherine Babin around 1686. According to Stephen White, both Jean Comeau and Catherine Le Jeune were an older couple (Comeau was about 55 years old, Catherine Le Jeune about 35), and there do not appear to have been any offspring (B-007, LAC, MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 24-1, Reel C-1869, p. 607; Stephen A. White. *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes* (Moncton: 1999), 1:56).

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lucrative opportunities opened up for young men who entered new occupational niches with alacrity.¹¹⁷

What Chute does not mention was that this was a phenomenon that affected not just Acadia, but New France as well. Young men would take to the forests not just because they had no feudal obligations keeping them back; often they would leave to escape those obligations. It was not long before regulations were passed to outlaw these *Coueurs de bois*. In fact, their suppression became something of a priority. Louis XIV wrote to Frontenac, the Governor of New France, on April 25, 1679, advising him that:

The colonie will be more secure if ... you break up the Coueurs des bois and hunters who contribute only to the ruin of the Colonies and not to their prosperity, and thereby oblige every person to apply himself to Agriculture, the clearing of the land and the establishment of Manufactures and Trade.¹¹⁸

Jacques de Meulles, the Intendant of New France, who inspected Acadia in 1686, complained about this. While inspecting a settlement along the St. John River, he commented that:

Il y avoit autrefois un petit fort à quatre bastions dont les ruines [paroissent] encore et c'est ou le dit Sr. de la Tour fesuit sa demeure aprèsant il n'y a que trios personnes qui y sont qui n'y défrichent point de terres et n' y font rien que courir de ca et de là pour attraper quelques pelleterres, menant une vie fenéante, libertine et vagabonde, entretenant des savagesse comme Presque partout aillieurs au scandal de la nation. Ils sont toujours gueux et languissant, et n'aportent aucune utilité à la colonie, au contraire font tort à de bons habitans qui pourvient s'y habituer et cultiver des terres avec plus de success s'ils jouissoient des avantages dont ces coueurs les frustrent.

...
le Seigneur y mène une vie de' bordee et ses enfans aussy avec las sauvagesses.¹¹⁹

Another key feature of the policy of *métissage* was also being eroded. Worried about how Indian societies were being degraded by contact with French settlers and traders, such as the trading meeting described by Denys above, missionaries came to believe that a separation of the two peoples was in the best interests of both the Indians and colonial society. While they were still attempting to settle the Indians in agricultural communities, it was felt that those communities needed to be isolated from the French colonists. This appears to have created a certain amount of tension between the different governing elites. Frontenac, who seems to have been of the old school of *métissage*, complained in his response to the letter from the King quoted above that the clergy were sabotaging his efforts to assimilate the Indians:

¹¹⁷ Chute, "A Good Day", 32.

¹¹⁸ O'Callaghan, Ed., *Documents*, 9:128.

¹¹⁹ LAC, MG 1, Series C11D, Vol. 3, Reel C-11359, 46-47.

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Since I came to this country there is nothing I have labored at more zealously than to induce every body, whether ecclesiastic or secular, to rear and maintain some Indian children, and to attract their fathers and mothers to our settlements, the better to instruct them in the Christian Religion and French manners. I have joined example to my own exhortations, having always brought some up in my own family and elsewhere, at my own expense, and impressed incessantly on the Ursuline Nuns and Jesuit Fathers not to inculcate any other sentiments in those under their control.

Nevertheless, the latter having pretended that the communication with the French corrupted the Indians and was an obstacle to the instruction they were giving them, Father Frémin, Superior of La Prairie de la Madeleine, far from conforming to what I told him was your Majesty's intentions, has since three years removed all the Indians who were intermingled there with the French to a distance of two leagues further off, on the lands obtained from M. Du Chesneau on his arrival in this country, the title to which I did not think proper to give them until I should learn your Majesty's pleasure, for reasons I had the honor to submit which are of importance for his service, and for the advantage and safety of the country.¹²⁰

Eventually, those who opposed the mixing of the Indians and the French appear to have gained the upper hand, and evidence of this can be seen in the instructions issued to Louis-Alexandre, Des Friches de Meneval, incoming Governor of Acadia in 1687. Meneval was to encourage agricultural settlement, and the emigration of colonists from France, but it was noted that Christianization of the Indians was the King's chief object. With that in mind, Meneval was ordered to limit contact between the French and the Indians. Trading with the Indians would only be allowed to those who had obtained special permits to do so. Furthermore, foreigners were to be prevented from fishing in Acadian waters or from trading with the Indians, as Article 9 of the Treaty of Breda permitted France to enforce this. Finally, Saint-Castin, a nobleman who lived amongst the Indians who will be discussed in more detail later, was to be coerced from his "vagabond" life of trading with the Indians and the English and to take up an occupation more suitable (presumably farming) to his station.¹²¹ It is not clear what success Meneval had in enforcing these policies, as he complained to his superiors in France that his efforts in that regard were being thwarted, sometimes by some of the most prominent members of the colony's administration (see the section on intermarriage, below).

The conscious effort to maintain a separation of peoples persisted, however. Separate clergy for both the Indians and the French settlers were established, and this lasted long after peninsular Nova Scotia was conquered by the British. The priests Gaulin, Le Loutre and Maillard were to be missionaries to the Indians, while the Acadians in their settled communities were to have their own priests. It is unclear, however, whether or not the missionary clergy also tended to those scattered French settlers who lived along the Atlantic coast. The 1748 report, based upon information provided by Le Loutre, seems to suggest that that was the case.¹²² Still, it continued to occur. Maillard, in a letter to M. de

¹²⁰ Letter from Frontenac to the King, November 6, 1679, Quoted in O'Callaghan, *Documents*, 9:130.

¹²¹ Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*, 1:173-174.

¹²² Wicken, "Encounters", 240; E-002, LAC, MG 1, Series C11A, Vol. 87, Fol. 364v, Reel F-87.

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Surlaville, dated February 23, 1753, stated that “Je ne donne pas plus de cinquante ans à ceux-cy et aux Marichites pour qu’on les voye tellement confondus avec les François colons, qu’il ne sera presque plus possible de les distinguer.”¹²³

In spite of all that, *métissage* appears to have still been looked upon favourably in some quarters of French Society. A French officer at Louisbourg, De la Varenne, in a 1756 letter to an acquaintance in France, boasted of his government’s success in courting the Indians to their side, which he attributed to a shared religion, as well as the attitudes of New England towards Indians. What Varenne considered to be the most effective means, however, was “the connivance, or rather encouragement, the French government has given to the native of France, to fall into the savage-way of life.” Furthermore:

We employ besides a much more effectual way of uniting them to us, and that is, by the intermarriages of our people with the savage-women, which is a circumstance that draws the ties of the alliance closer. The children produced by these are generally hardy, inured to the fatigues of the chase and war, and turn out very serviceable subjects in their way.¹²⁴

As effective as it was, though, Varenne did admit that this policy, if it could be called such, was having the consequences that earlier French administrators feared:

But what is most amazing is, that though the savage-life has all the appearance of being far from eligible, considering the fatigues, the exposure to all weathers, the dearth of those articles which custom has made a kind of necessities of life to Europeans, and may other inconveniences to be met with in their vagabond course; yet it has such charms for some of our native French, and even for some of them who have been delicately bred, that, when once they have betaken themselves to it young, there is hardly any reclaiming them from it, or inducing them to return to a more civilized life. ... By degrees, they lose all relish for the European luxuries of life, and would not exchange for them the enjoyments of that liberty, and faculty of wandering about, for which, in the forests, they contract an invincible taste. A gun with powder and ball, of which they purchase a continuation of supplies with the skins of the beasts they kill, set them up. With these they mix among the savages, where they get as many women as they please, some of them are far from unhandsome, and fall into their way of life, with as much passion and attachment, as if they had never known any other.¹²⁵

As Varenne implies, many Mi’kmaq of Nova Scotia seem to have had French ancestors, and this appears to have been the source of some confusion. A letter from Charles Lawrence to Lt. Col. Monckton, dated February 16, 1755, for example, noted Lawrence’s meeting with “one Paul Laurent a

¹²³ Gaston du Bosq de Beaumont, *Les Derniers Jours*, 85.

¹²⁴ Donovan, Ken, Ed. “Letter from Louisbourg,” in *Acadiensis* 10 (1980), 118-119.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 119.

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half Indian sent hither by the Different tribes of Indians with overtures for a Peace.”¹²⁶ William Wicken, in his 2004 paper on the Métis of Nova Scotia, refers to Laurent as “Métis,” but Laurent is identified at the beginning of the 1760 Peace and Friendship Treaty as the Chief of the La Have Indians.¹²⁷ A journal, which probably belonged to Col. Robert Monkton, states that “These Indians mingle and even sometimes intermarry among the French, and then become laterally civilized.”¹²⁸

John Knox, a British Officer at Annapolis Royal in 1758, described a female “Indian” captive he met at Annapolis:

Her complexion was not so fair as the British, nor yet so dark as the French in General are. I naturally concluded that she was a mulatto. I am told their language was a mixture of their own mother tongue and French. They were from Pannook, in the County of Lunenburg.¹²⁹

There is some confusion over who the father of this Indian woman was. Janet Chute, in her paper, claims that that the father was “Jean Baptiste Thoma, head chief at Port Royal, a native leader who prominently [sic] in the historical record between 1722 and 1768.” He was the husband of Marie Mius, Chute states, and therefore the woman Knox was describing would have been a descendant of Philippe D’Entremont. Knox, however, stated the surname of the woman was Thomas, and that she and her brother, Clare and Anselm Thomas, were being held as hostages by the British. Max Basque, a modern Mi’kmaq, stated in a 1984 interview that Clare and Anselm were the children of Louis Thomas, an Irish deserter from the British military. Basque also stated that he was descendant of this Thomas as well.¹³⁰

Knox stated that he had spoken to them in French, but that reply was so slow and thick that he could not understand them. Chute claims that:

¹²⁶ Letter from Lawrence to Monkton, February 16, 1755, quoted in Charles Sturgill, “Two Letters of Charles Lawrence.” In *La Société Historique Acadienne, 25ième Cahier*, 3, No. 5 (October-December 1969), 175. The original is in the possession of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, Washington.

¹²⁷ Wicken, “The Metis in Southwestern Nova Scotia”, 22; D-001, PANS, RG 1, Vol. 284, No. 17. A number of “Peace and Friendship Treaties” were signed with individual bands of Indians in Nova Scotia in 1760 and 1761, following the collapse of New France, and with it the Indians’ source of supply.

¹²⁸ *The Northcliffe Collection: Presented to the Government of Canada by Sir Leicester Harmsworth, as a Memorial to his brother the Right Honourable Alfred Charles William Harmsworth, Viscount Northcliffe* (Ottawa: 1926), 70.

¹²⁹ John Knox. *An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759 and 1760* (Toronto: 1914), 1:89. Chute claims that Pannook was also a “Métis” community, in which the “Métis” lived alongside the Indians. Almost nothing about the village is known, however, and Chute notes that it is not even clear at present where the village was located (Chute, “A Good Day”, 45).

¹³⁰ Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us: Excerpts from Micmac History* (Halifax: 1991), 120, 146. J. Bernard Gilpin, in the *Proceedings and Transactions of the Nova Scotia Institute of Science for 1875-1878*, notes that the Indian name “Toma” is a shortened form of Thomas (Gilpin, quoted in Harold Franklin McGee, *The Native Peoples of Atlantic Canada: A History of Ethnic Interaction* (Toronto: 1974), 115).

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Knox's journal provides a glimpse of the sense of isolation and tragedy which could pervade metis life during the Seven Years War, even for those who remained neutral. To begin with, metis like Clare and Anselm had severe problems communicating in either English or French. Even when they adopted the French linguistic structure, the result was a French-Mi'kmaq creole undecipherable to anyone except the metis community.¹³¹

Chute appears, in this passage, to be using "Métis" strictly in the sense of someone who was of mixed-ancestry. Knox himself mentioned that these two people were "Indians," and if they had been brought up in a Mi'kmaq band, it is quite understandable that their French was strongly accented. Furthermore, it will be remembered that according to the French linguist Genevieve Massignon, the Acadian dialect as a whole was influenced by Mi'kmaw, and it is unclear how well Knox himself understood French or the dialect of the region. As for Chute's claims that Clare and Anselm's mother was Marie Mius (the daughter of Philippe II and Marie, a Mi'kmaq), this would contradict what she said about their father being Chief Thoma (or Thomas), for Marie Mius married François Viger, and entries in the numerous Acadian genealogies do not mention Viger having children of those names.¹³²

J. Bernard Gilpin, a naturalist who travelled extensively in Nova Scotia throughout the mid to late 19th century, wrote in the Proceedings and Transactions of the Nova Scotia Institute of Science (1875-1878) that there was very little interaction between the Indians and the other peoples of the Province:

It is generally said that our Indians are changing from mixed blood. No doubt there is some truth in this, as the white names continually occurring amongst them prove; but as far as my own researches, principally amongst the western families, have reached, I think this is only by illicit intercourse, - the child taking the name of the father. I never saw but one Indian with a white wife, and I have only known two white men living amongst them. One of them was married.¹³³

As for the effect of intermarriage in Acadian Society, that is more difficult to judge. According to Jaenan, children of mixed-ancestry who were born in Acadia seem to have passed into either Mi'kmaq or Acadian society, with no special term to identify these individuals in either society. The first use of the term "*Métis*," he states, was in 1770, in a French publication, which contained a categorical judgement that people of mixed-ancestry were superior to the Indian people. Research on this paper, however, has turned up the use of the word "*Métis*" in 1750, in a letter published in the *Jesuit Relations*, referring to peoples who lived along the Mississippi River in the Illinois territory. Use of the word in a qualified sense can also be found in 1755 and 1760. In 1760 the term was used again to describe the children of Indian women and Norman fishermen who resided near Restigouche. "*Métis*" in French refers to crossing, in the sense of interbreeding, and is used not only to describe human

¹³¹ Chute, "A Good Day", 44.

¹³² Massignon, *Parlers Français*, 2:793; As for the genealogy of Marie Mius, see Arseneault, *Histoire et Généalogie des Acadiens* (St. Laurent, QC : Fidcs), 4:1597.

¹³³ McGee, *Native Peoples*, 113.

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populations, but is also used in zoology and botany. In 1755 the daughter of Paul Guédry, Marguerite, who was living on Ile Royale, was referred to as being “*métise-Sauvage*.”¹³⁴

One of the reasons that spouses and children of Mi'kmaq origin may have been easily assimilated into Acadian society, prior to the expulsions, was that Acadian society was remarkably heterogeneous to begin with. Genevieve Massignon, a French linguist who studied the Acadians in the 1960s, noted that although certain centres in France contributed significantly to the Acadian Stock, in particular the Port of La Rochelle, and the mouth of the Loire River, more than half the people came from elsewhere in the country. There was no one group that was in a position to dominate any other group. Massignon noted that by 1707 at least five percent of the Acadian population had ancestors from the British Isles. Acadian speech was therefore a matter of colonial development. It evolved as a variety of dialects that were mostly French, with a few English and two Indian, were compounded into a whole by the distinctive life of the Acadian community and its need for a special vocabulary.¹³⁵

Stephen White, of the Acadian Studies Centre in Moncton, notes the diverse origins of many Acadian surnames:

Basque:	Arostegmy; Bastarche; Ozelet
Spanish:	Gousman
Portuguese:	Mirande; Rodrique.
Irish:	Caissy/Casey; Gerémond/Gainer; Long, Onel/O'Neale
English:	Druce; Granger; Hensaul/Henshaw
Scottish:	Jeanson/Johnson
Flemish:	Pitre
Channel Islands:	Semer
Croatian:	Mathieu. ¹³⁶

Mi'kmaq could be looked upon as simply another influence added to the “big tent” of Acadian culture. There are other, more practical reasons for the good relations between the Mi'kmaq and the Acadians as well. Historians such as Naomi Griffiths speculate that part of the reason that the Acadians had such good relations with the Indians was that the Indians felt so little competition for land:

The excellent relations between Acadian and Indian were helped by the way the Acadian Community struggled into existence and painfully developed. During the first

¹³⁴ Research on this paper has turned up two mentions of “Métis” prior to 1770. A letter from Illinois, dated June 5, 1750, refers to the Métis residing along the Mississippi River (Reuben Gold Thwaites, Ed. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Vol. 69 (Cleveland, c.1896), 144-145). Secondly, a report from Restigouche in the autumn of 1760 lists the population of the post, which includes a number of Métis. These “Métis” are offspring of Mi'kmaq women and the Norman fishermen who plied the coast (C-015, LAC, MG 1, Series C11A, Vol. 105, Fol. 224V, Reel F-105). On Ile Royale, in 1755, Marguerite Guédry was referred to as a “*metise-Sauvage*,” meaning that she was part Indian (B-009, LAC, MG 1, Series F3, Vol. 50, Reel C-10531, pp. 360-361).

¹³⁵ Griffiths, “The Acadians” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 4:xviii-xix; Massignon, *Parlers Français*, 1:74-76.

¹³⁶ White, *Patronymes Acadiens = Acadian Family Names* (Moncton, 1992), 8.

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30 or so years of the 17th century every effort to organize European development around the Bay of Fundy resulted only in the maintenance of a European presence never in the establishment of a settlement. Even after 1632 when the French authorities actively encouraged migration, rather than exploration and the conversion of the Indian, the colonists who set sail from France were few. By 1671, when an official census was made, the population of European descent was recorded as less than 75 families, 68 of them within the confines of Port-Royal, and the others at Pobomcoup (Pubnico, N.S.), Cap Nègre (Cape Negro, N.S.), Pentagouet (on Penobscot Bay, Maine), Mouscoudabout (Musquodoboit Harbour, N.S.) and Saint-Pierre (St. Peters, N.S.), making barely 500 souls in all. Even the developments of the last decades of the 17th century brought the population to no overwhelming number. When the British acquired "Acadie or Nova Scotia" by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the population of New France was more than 19,000, that of New England 92,000, but the official computation was under 2,000. So gradual had been the growth of settlement through migration and so non-exploitive the Acadian's way of life, that unlike other European societies transferred to America they posed no serious threat to the indigenous population. New England settlement meant eventual extirpation of Indian groups, while the logic of expansion of New France meant the relatively benign exploitation of dependant Indian populations. Only with the Acadians did something akin to a symbiotic relationship with the Micmacs and other tribal groupings emerge. From this relationship the Acadians reaped positive benefits, not only in their early adoption of Indian canoes, but also in their use of such articles of clothing as the moccasin and their consumption of herbs and vegetables unknown in Europe.¹³⁷

Other theories are that the Acadians never interfered with Mi'kmaq land use, as they tended lands that had been carved out of the sea. Moses de le Dernier, a Swiss immigrant who lived among the Acadians, noted that they paid no attention to cultivating the "uplands" either before or after the expulsions.¹³⁸

William Wicken suggests that one of the reasons that the Acadians enjoyed such good relations with the Indians is that they were careful not to establish new settlements without the consent of the Indians. This is related to what Naomi Griffiths stated above: that there were too few Acadians to overpower the Indians and take the land, even if they wanted to. Not able to depend on the French military for their security, they had to live by compromise, and with the permission of those who were there before. Wicken cites a few examples of this. In 1720, for example, Peter Nunquadden, a chief of the Mi'kmaq of Minas, demanded that a New England trader should pay them for the liberty to trade, and that every trader should pay tribute. In 1724, the Governor of Ile Royale stated that the five or six Acadian families living below the Chebenacadie River were inhabiting land given them by the Mi'kmaq, and in 1740 Paul Mascarene, the Lieutenant Governor, was informed by Acadians who had settled on new lands that they had purchased these lands from the Indians. Though similar documentation does not

¹³⁷ Griffiths, "The Acadians" in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 4:xviii.

¹³⁸ E-004, LAC, MG 21, Add. MSS 19071, fol. 260, Reel C-11964.

appear to exist, this was probably even more important in those areas in which the Indians outnumbered the settlers, in particular the study area on the southwest coast.¹³⁹

The evidence suggests that while the Acadians, including those in the study area, enjoyed very good relations with the Mi'kmaq, it is unclear to what extent those relations were due to intermarriages between them. Certainly intermarriage happened, and outside observers noted the effects on both the Acadians and the Mi'kmaq, but it is not clear that the children of these unions were recognized as being distinct from the communities into which they were born.

5.4.2 Intermarriage

Massignon and others have remarked upon the adoption of aboriginal practices by the Acadians, which include everything from the use of moccasins, to canoes for transportation. Massignon even identified a number of Indian words that had been adopted by the Acadians and by the Canadians, plus a number, roughly a dozen, that were used by the Acadians alone.¹⁴⁰ It is not clear, however, that this was the result of a significant amount of intermarriage between the Acadians and the Indians.

Naomi Griffiths points out that by 1671, the year of the first census, Acadia's Euro-American population numbered around 600, and in the entire Acadian community there were only some seventy households. She calls it significant that in at least five of these households the legitimate wife was Mi'kmaq.¹⁴¹ In her book "The Contexts of Acadian History," she writes that, "The cordial alliance that was built between the two peoples, Acadian and Micmac, over the next seventy years becomes more explicable if we accept that there were considerable family ties between the two groups."¹⁴² Griffiths, however, does not explore the full implications of this, as intermarriage was not the focus of her study. In fact, in another of her works, she states that, "occasionally an Indian woman would be absorbed into an Acadian village through marriage."¹⁴³

The anthropologist William Wicken appears to have been the only academic so far who has studied the question of Indian-Acadian intermarriage in more detail, in his PhD. dissertation, and it was his conclusion that intermarriage between the Mi'kmaq and the Acadians appears to have been a phenomenon limited in time to the earliest years of the colony. Though they are sporadic, records for Chignecto (which is, unfortunately, outside of the study area) between 1681 and 1686 suggest that that 34 Mi'kmaq were baptised by the local parish priests, and godparents were members of prominent Acadian families. During the following century, however, only four Mi'kmaq were baptized. As settlement increased, there were fewer regular contacts maintained between Acadians and the surrounding Mi'kmaq populations.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ Wicken, "Encounters", 228-230.

¹⁴⁰ Geneviève Massignon, *Les Parlers Français d'Acadie* (Paris, 1962), 2:739.

¹⁴¹ Griffiths, "Mating and Marriage," 123.

¹⁴² Naomi Griffiths, *The Contexts of Acadian History 1686-1784* (Montreal, 1992), 24.

¹⁴³ Griffiths, *The Acadians: the Creation of a People*, 5.

¹⁴⁴ Wicken, "Encounters", 234-235.

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The difficulty in any assessment of intermarriage between the Acadians and the Mi'kmaq is that the records for the earliest period of the colony's history are incomplete. Not only were there often long periods when there was no clergy to record marriages and births, but as mentioned before, many records were actually destroyed at the time of the expulsions. While we know of some marriages between Mi'kmaqs and Acadians, the fact is that many marriages may not have been recorded. This may be particularly true in the period between 1613, when Port Royal was sacked, and 1670, when the colony was returned to French control by the Treaty of Breda. It was during this period, when there were still very few French women present, that it is likely that unrecorded intermarriage occurred with the Mi'kmaq.

Wicken in his thesis, however, points to a lack of kinship ties between the Acadians and the Mi'kmaq, and he takes issue with academics who have argued the opposite. Olive Dickason, for example, argued that many marriages were unrecorded because the irregular contact with missionaries precluded registration in parish records. Where this argument falls down, Wicken believes, is that it assumes that there was a close cultural similarity that would make these marriages possible. Wicken does not see that cultural similarity.¹⁴⁵ He notes that the 1671, 1678 and 1686 census records show only one native woman who had married into the Acadian population and lived in an agricultural community. She was Abenaki and had some agricultural skills.¹⁴⁶

Wicken goes on to say that the lack of marriages between the Mi'kmaq and the Acadians should not be surprising, as an agricultural lifestyle demanded skills that Mi'kmaq women did not possess. Even the Mi'kmaq understanding of Catholicism was different than that of the Acadians. He concedes that it is likely that unofficial liaisons occurred between Acadian men and Indian women. In 1686 the Intendant Jacques De Muelles, for example, complained that some Port Royal residents were keeping "Indian women in their dwellings, and others ... desert father and mother and follow these Indian women into the woods." Furthermore, the 1708 and 1722 census show evidence of Indian widows living adjacent to the Acadian villages, which suggests the potential for relationships. These liaisons, however, would tend to increase the Indian population, not the number of settlers.¹⁴⁷

Official unions between the settlers and Mi'kmaq were unlikely by the end of the 17th century as there was less of a gender imbalance in the French community and young males did not have to go elsewhere to find women their own age. In any event, Wicken notes that Acadian men married young, so there would only have been a short time before they were free of wedding vows, and they were under constant scrutiny by the priests. Also, Wicken points out that the Mi'kmaq population in Acadia

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 236.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 237. The woman he is referring to is Anne Ouestuorouest, who is mentioned in the 1671 survey (B-001, LAC, MG 1, Series G1, Vol. 466, 10, Reel F-768). Wicken does not mention "Jeanne, sauvagesse de nation", the wife of "Martin le Jeune," who is listed in the census for La Have in 1686 (B-001, LAC, MG 1, Series G1, Vol. 466, 43, Reel F-768).

¹⁴⁷ Wicken, "Encounters", 237-238.

was never large, and although liaisons may have occurred, they were never a significant component of Acadian life.¹⁴⁸

Shortly after the British conquest, in fact, Governor Philipp's instructions authorized cash payments and gifts of land to all British subjects of the colony (and this included the Acadians) who would marry Mi'kmaq women. This was intended as a way to assimilate the Indians. According to John Bartlett Brebner, this provision appeared in the instructions issued to every governor until 1773. It is not known that any money or land was ever awarded.¹⁴⁹

Wicken reminds his readers that priests and missionaries sought to increase the distance between the two populations. Acadians, Wicken states were offended by certain elements of the Mi'kmaq style of dress, particularly the lack of clothes in summer months. Interdictions against pre-marital sex and divorce also differed from Mi'kmaq social custom. Missionaries also tried to keep alcohol away from Indians, and believed that the Acadians were supplying it.¹⁵⁰

A confusing piece of evidence concerning the Acadians, which seemingly argues against widespread Acadian-Mi'kmaq intermarriage, is a description of the inhabitants of the colony written by Alexandre Laument *dit* la Mothe Cadillac, who was sent on a reconnaissance trip of New England by Governor Frontenac. Cadillac described the inhabitants of Acadia he encountered during his travels in 1692 as being of fair complexion:

With regards to the *creolles*, or natives of the country, they are well built, of good figure, excellently proportioned, with blonde hair as a rule, robust and very hardy, good subjects of the King, extremely fond of the European French, very affectionate among themselves, taking pleasure in helping one another. They have good sense and are clever. They travel most of the time by bark canoes. Their wives do the same, and are very bold on the water.¹⁵¹

What is confusing is Cadillac's use of the word "creolles," which is a Spanish term used to describe mixed-ancestry (usually European and African). When describing the "natives of the country" it is clear that Cadillac was not referring to the Indians, as they were the subject of his next paragraph.

5.5 Genealogical Evidence

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 238-239. According to population figures, the Acadians probably outnumbered the Mi'kmaq by the 1690s. Certainly in 1720 Paul Mascarene, the commander of the garrison at Annapolis, noted that the number of French inhabitants was vastly larger than the number of Mi'kmaqs, which, he believed, made the inhabitant's claims of being compelled by the Indians to support them against the British all the more unbelievable.

¹⁴⁹ Brebner, "Subsidized Intermarriage with the Indians: An Incident of British Colonial Policy," *Canadian Historical Review* 6 (1925): 33-36.

¹⁵⁰ Wicken, "Encounters", 239-240. While Wicken states that the Acadians were offended by the immodest styles of Mi'kmaq dress, the example he provides, that of a farmer who assaults a Mi'kmaq who is wandering across his land because the Mi'kmaq is wearing only a shirt, involves an American farmer, and the date of the incident is post-expulsion.

¹⁵¹ W.F. Ganong, ed. "The Cadillac Memoir of Acadia of 1692". *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society* 13 (1930): 81.

A full discussion of Acadian genealogy is beyond the scope of this paper, and Acadian genealogy can (and does) fill many volumes. A brief review of genealogy which concerns the known intermarriages between the Mi'kmaq and the Acadians is in order, however, so that the complications inherent in the use of such materials may be identified. Genealogical material must be utilized when studying Acadian history as so little else seems to exist.

An interesting feature of many of the recognized marriages between the Indians of Acadia and the French colonists in the seventeenth century is how many of the French colonists involved were aristocrats, or at least members of the colonial gentry. There may be a number of reasons for this. One would be a recognition that the fate of the colony relied upon the relationships between the French and the Mi'kmaq, and intermarriage with the Mi'kmaq would serve this purpose. These alliances with the Mi'kmaq would also serve commercial purposes, and indeed many of the men who married aboriginal women were involved in the fur trade. Another reason, which should perhaps be considered, was a sort of snobbery against farming that may have existed among European gentry. Indians spent their lives hunting and fighting, which were, traditionally, suitable occupations for European aristocrats.

Indeed, the King's instructions to Meneval in 1687 complained of the behaviour of those who received concessions from the King and then played absentee landlord while going off into the forests:

Sa Majesté est informée qu'un petit nombre de particuliers, prétendant avoir des concessions exclusive sur de vastes estendues dudit païs, mesme avec la faculté d'accorder des concessions à diaultures, ne se sont employez jusques à présent, ny à la culture des terres, la nourriture des bestiaux, ny à faire aulcune, pesche, et qu'ils sont uniquement occupez à la traite dans le bois, et dans une debauche scandaleuse, et exercent, aussy des violences contre les Francois sous prétext desdites concessions.¹⁵²

The following subsections will examine a number of Acadian families which have been identified by Rameau de St. Père, and by modern researchers such as Chute and Wicken, as being "Métis" families. The various censuses of Acadia have also identified members of these families as having married Indians.

5.5.1 La Tour

The first marriage to be discussed, and indeed the first confirmed intermarriage in Acadia, involved Charles Saint-Etienne de la Tour (hereafter called Charles La Tour). He married an unknown Mi'kmaq woman some time between 1626 and 1628. One daughter from that marriage, Jeanne, wed one of his business associates, Martin D'Aprendestiguy, who was later made the Sieur de Martignon

¹⁵² Québec, *Collection de Manuscrits Contenant Lettres, Mémoires, et Autre Documents Historiques Relatifs à la Nouvelle-France* (Québec, 1883-1885), 1:396. There seems to have been an attraction to Indian life for the people of the European colonies in America. In his book *The European and the Indian*, James Axtell discusses the Treaty of Albany of 1699, in which the Indians of both sides agreed to let their European captives go. To the surprise of many observers, most of these captives, British and French, did not wish to leave the Indians and return to the society they were taken from (James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York : 1981), 171-172).

and the Seigneur de Jemseg. According to Stephen White, four of their five children settled in France.¹⁵³

5.5.2 Saint-Castin

Rameau de St. Père, in his history of Acadia, makes reference to a class of colonist, usually a seigneur, who married into Indian families, particularly the families of Chiefs, and then used their status both among the Indians and the French to control trade. They also used their influence among the Indians to help defend the colony. In effect, these men became Chiefs, and their band's lands became their fiefdoms. Often their sons would carry on when the father died. Rameau called these men "*Capitaines des Sauvages*,"¹⁵⁴ and the most typical example of this was another noble, Jean Vincent d'Abbadie de Saint-Castin, a former soldier who settled among the Abenaki Indians at Pentagouet, on the Penobscot River in the modern state of Maine. There he married Marie-Mathilde (sometimes written as "Mathilde"), the daughter of the local chief, Madokawando. Baron de Lahonton, who served in North America between 1683 and 1694, described Saint-Castin as follows:

He married among them, after their fashion, and preferred the forests of Acadia to the Pyrenean mountains that encompass the place of his nativity ... the governors general of Canada keep in with him, and the governors of New England are afraid of him. He has several daughters, who are all of 'em married very handsomely to Frenchmen, and had good dowries. He has never changed his wife, by which, he mean'd to give the savage to understand that "God does not love inconsistent folks."¹⁵⁵

One of Saint-Castin's daughters with Marie-Mathilde, Anastasie, married Alexandre Le Borgne, Seigneur de Port-Royal, who had at one time, like his father before him, been Governor of Acadia. Another of Saint-Castin's daughters, Therese, who was the daughter of Saint-Castin's second wife Marie Pidiwammiska (who is believed to have been the sister of Mathilde), married Philippe Mius, the son of Jacques Mius, the first son of Philippe Mius, Sieur d'Entremont.¹⁵⁶

5.5.3 Mius

The d'Entremont family was one of the most prolific in Acadia, and the family home, the Barony of Pobomcoup, was near the modern village of Pubnico, within the study area. The senior member of the family was Philippe Mius, Sieur D'Entremont, a minor noble who was brought to Acadia by his

¹⁵³ White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes*, 1:21; 2:1433.

¹⁵⁴ Rameau de St. Père, *Une Colonie Féodale*, 1:206-207.

¹⁵⁵ Baron de Lahontan, quoted in Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*, 1:205.

¹⁵⁶ White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes*, 1:7. There is some disagreement as to whom Saint-Castin's daughter Anastasie married. The entry in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* for LeBorgne (1:436) states that he married Marie de Saint-Etienne de La Tour, but the *DCB* entry for Saint-Castin (2:7), agrees with Stephen White's assertion that LeBorgne's spouse was Anastasie Saint-Castin.

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childhood friend Charles La Tour to organize its defence. D'Entremont was made the commander of the King's troops, and as a reward for his services he was granted the fief of Pobomcoup as a barony. This stretched from Cape Nègre to Cap Fourchu. He built his "castle" near the entry to the natural harbour of Pubnico, on the eastern side, and attracted a number of "indentured workers and a few families from Port Royal" His seignury eventually formed a "small centre of population." His wife was Madeleine Hélie, whom he married in France before coming to Acadia.¹⁵⁷

His first two sons, Jacques and Abraham, both married daughters of Charles La Tour and Jeanne Motin, who was Charles La Tour's third wife, as well as d'Aulnay's widow. Jacques married Anne de Saint-Etienne de la Tour (not of mixed-ancestry), and their son Philippe married Therese Saint-Castin (who was of mixed-ancestry), the daughter of Jean-Vincent and his second wife, Marie. One of Jacques d'Entremont's daughters, Marie, married François DuPont, the son of Hugues DuPont, the Sieur du Vivier. One of François and Marie's sons, François II, was an army officer, most notable for leading the French military expedition against Annapolis Royal in 1744. He was accompanied on that expedition by his brother, Joseph DuPont Duvivier, a junior officer. Joseph's wife was Marie-Joseph Le Borgne, the daughter of Alexandre Le Borgne and Anastasie. She was, therefore, the granddaughter of Jean-Vincent Saint-Castin and Mathilde, his Abenaki wife.

The genealogy of Philippe Mius d'Entremont's third son, Philippe (referred to hereafter as Philippe II Mius d'Azy), is, according to the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, "more difficult to piece together," and it is stated in his father's biography that he may have married a daughter of St. Castin.¹⁵⁸ There is no evidence of this, but it is generally accepted by Genealogists such as Placide Gaudet, Stephen A. White and Bona Arsenault that Philippe II was married to one, and maybe two. White, for example, states that he married an unknown Mi'kmaq woman in 1678, and then, after her death, married Marie, also a Mi'kmaq, in 1687.

At one time, this was a very controversial assertion. Writing in the 1920s, H. Leander D'Entremont, a descendant of the original Baron's son Jacques, denied that there was enough evidence extant to back up this claim:

It has been stated that in 1687 he had married an Indian girl named Marie. The late Placide Gaudet in a letter written to me on March 16, 1927, said this Marie was an Indian girl aged 17 years ("une jeune sauvagesse nommée Marie, âgée de 17 ans") but he does not disclose the source of his information, therefore his statement lacks confirmation.

But, if Philippe II did not marry before 1687, we have the names of three children assumed to have been born before that date. One was Joseph dit Dazy, born about 1684, the origins of the Meuse family, and the others' were twins named in the census of 1708 as "Mather Emiusse" and "Maurisse Mieusse," born in 1682, if he was not married twice, then these children were

¹⁵⁷ *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 1:510. H. Leander D'Entremont wrote that the original form of the name, as it was in France, was Micux. In the new world it was recorded a number of ways, including Mius, Meuse and Mieusse among others. Also, like Mirliguesche and La Have, there are a number of ways of spelling Pobomcoup. The version used in this paper is the most common.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 1:510.

illegitimate, and if his wife of 1687 was an Indian, his later children were half-breed, neither of which has been proved by any document or history.¹⁵⁹

Three of Philippe II's mixed-ancestry children, Francois Mius (born 1681), Mathieu Mius *dit* Emieusse and Maurice Mius (twins, born in 1682) are recorded by the late Acadian genealogist Bona Arsenault as having married Mi'kmaq women. His daughter, Marie Mius D'Azit, married Francois Viger of Pobomcoup, who later moved to "Oiknakagan, au Cap-de-Sable." This was also the site of a Mi'kmaq village.¹⁶⁰ Wicken believes this to be highly significant, and he presents Marie Meuse, the spouse of François Viger, as typical of those he refers to as "Metis":

Each [of their children] were born at Ouimakagan and its proximity must have meant that Marie and her children interacted with Mi'kmaq householders regularly. After all, like most other metis, Marie would have spoken Mi'kmaq as well as French. It is probable that people along the coast spoke a distinctive language that combined Mi'kmaw and French words and phrases. Such adaptations to the language spoken in the house and outside of it would have been a natural evolution, fostered by the communities' isolation from larger farming areas adjacent to the Bay of Fundy. For Marie, such adaptations would have been all the more natural since her mother had been Mi'kmaq and she herself had grown up within the Mi'kmaq community at La Have. Marie was neither French Acadian, nor was she Mi'kmaq. She was metis.¹⁶¹

He adds that although it is not clear what happened to four of her five children, one married Claire Lejeune (the daughter of Martin Lejeune dit Briard and Marie Gaudet). The lesson that Wicken draws from this is that "Métis" families tended to marry each other, despite the fact that he is unclear how the other four-fifths of her children married.¹⁶²

According to Stephen White, the spouses of two others are known. Marie-Joseph married Martin Corporan (who was not known to have been of mixed-ancestry), and later Paul Benoit, the son of Pierre Benoit and Elizabeth LeJuge. Elizabeth was the daughter of Guillaume LeJuge and Marie Mercier (Antoine Babin's widow). It is not clear whether or not Marie

¹⁵⁹ D'Entremont Fonds, MG 25, G 36, Reel M-271, 70.

¹⁶⁰ Arsenault, *Histoire*, 4:1594. Arsenault, however, states that Philippe married Marie in 1678, not 1687. As for the village, also spelled as Ouiknakagan, it is mentioned by Father Clarence-Joseph d'Entremont in his history of Cape Sable. Janet Chute refers to it as being a "Métis" village, but apart from the Viger family, it is unclear who else lived there. It is not even clear to us where exactly the village was, and its location is a matter of some dispute (Chute, "A Good Day", 45). It is believed to have been located near the present village of Eel Brook.

¹⁶¹ Wicken, "The Metis in Southwest Nova Scotia," 21. Wicken provides no sources to back up these assertions as to Marie Mius' upbringing. He assumes that because she lived in a small settlement near a Mi'kmaq settlement and her mother was Mi'kmaq, she was distinct from the Acadian population as a whole. As for the language Marie Mius spoke, Massignon's study of Acadia made clear that Acadian French as a whole incorporated several Mi'kmaq words (Massignon, *Parlers Français*, 2:793).

¹⁶² Wicken, "The Metis in Southwest Nova Scotia," 21.

Mercier was of mixed-ancestry. Finally, Agathe Vigier married Eustache Boutin, the son of Joseph Boutin and Marie-Marguerite Lejeune *dit* Briard.¹⁶³

The register of parish of Port Royal (paroisse Jean-Baptiste) records the May 1705 baptism of François II Viger (spelled Vigie in the register), and there is no mention of any Indian ancestry. The child is simply described as the son “*de François Vigie et de Marie Mius habitant de Puckmagagan [sic]*.”¹⁶⁴

Again, the Lejeune *dit* Briards appear, but, as will be demonstrated in the section on intermarriage, below, it is still unclear if Pierre and Martin Lejeune as well as Marie Gaudet even were of mixed-ancestry. Both Wicken and Chute point to the fact that a number of families tend to have members marry each other, but considering the small size of the population, and the fact that families were usually large, it stands to reason that some individuals married their cousins. Not that every member of a family did, however, and the siblings of many families married quite widely. For example, not all of Philippe II's children married Mi'kmaqs. His oldest son, Jacques d'Azy, married Marie Amirault, the daughter of François Amerault and Madeleine Lord. Meanwhile, Jacques II d'Entremont, another grandson of Philippe I, the first Sieur d'Entremont, married Marguerite Amirault, Marie's sister.¹⁶⁵

Stephen White of the Acadian Study Centre notes that although cousin marriage was common among Acadian families, and many cases can be found of Meuses (the descendants of Philippe II Mius) marrying Meuses and Entremonts (the descendants of Jacques) marrying Entremonts, he can find no examples of Entremonts marrying Meuses. One factor for this may be the mixed-ancestry of the Meuses, but he is not certain of this.¹⁶⁶

The descendants of Philippe II Mius married into other families which also had prominent roots and this leads into a discussion of perhaps the most well-known “Métis” of the period of the French regime, Pierre Lejeune *dit* Briard (born c.1651), a resident at different times of both La Have and Port Royal.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes*, 1:107, 264, 411 ; 2:1566. White's sources include the registers of St. Jean l'Évangéliste de Port-Lajoie (the present-day Charlottetown, PEI) and Très Ste. Trinité de Cherbourg (France), as well as the 1752 census of Ile Royale and Ile St. Jean.

¹⁶⁴ B-003, LAC, MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 24-1, p. 64, Reel C-1869.

¹⁶⁵ White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes*, 1:74. In 1719 a British sea captain named Cyprian Southack reported that near Cape Sable he had encountered a “part-Indian” man named Meuse in the company of a “French” man named “Tourangeau” (A-003, LAC, MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 2, No. B.97, Reel B-1021, p. 253). Tourangeau was one of the nicknames of the Amirault family (Arsenault, *Histoire et Généalogie des Acadiens*, 6:1585).

¹⁶⁶ Interview with Stephen White, October 21, 2004.

¹⁶⁷ Nicknames, such as “*dit* Briard” were very common both in the colonies and in France itself. Nicknames could denote any number of things, such as the place a family came from (in *dit* Briard's case it is thought to signify that the family came from Brie), the Christian name of a prominent ancestor (which was often used to tell different branches of a large family apart), occupations, or a military past. The use of nicknames cut across economic and social levels, and as Stephen White notes, those commissioned to uphold the laws were as likely to use nicknames as those escaping the law's execution (White, *Patronymes*, 8-11).

5.5.4 Lejeune dit Briard

Rameau de St. Père described the lifestyle of the “Métis” of the east coast through the experiences of the Lejeune family, but little is actually known about the family or Pierre in particular. Rameau de St. Père stated that a Pierre Lejeune appeared to have arrived from France, sometime before the arrival of Razilly, accompanied by his parents and his older sister, (A younger sister was either born in France or upon arrival in Acadia). The two sisters relocated and married in Port Royal, where they were recorded in censuses, but Pierre appears to have stayed in La Have, and his wife, whose name is not known, gave birth to a son named Pierre about 1654. Because the wife is not identified, and because he resided in La Have after d’Aulnay had transferred most of the colonists to Port Royal, Rameau takes this as evidence that the spouse was either Mi’kmaq or of mixed-ancestry.¹⁶⁸

This elder Pierre Lejeune, the one who is believed to have come from France, is not mentioned in any of the censuses of Acadia, however. The only reference to him comes from the “Declarations de Belle-Ile-en-Mer,” a collection of statements taken from the 78 families who came to settle in France in the 1760s. These statements were intended to replace the lost Acadian parish records, and have since been crucial to Acadian genealogists. Pierre Lejeune dit Briard is mentioned in these declarations only once: the declaration of Claude Pitre at Belle-Ile-en-Mer stated that his second wife, Magdeleine Darois, was a descendant of Marguerite Lejeune, who was born at Port Royal in 1698. Marguerite’s parents were Pierre Lejeune and Marie Thibodault of Port Royal. “Pierre Lejeune was issue of another Pierre who came from France and married at Port Royal, died there [sic].”¹⁶⁹

Also present in the colony, according to the 1671 census, were two women named Lejeune, Edmée and Catherine. Rameau takes this fact, coupled with the mention of a Pierre Lejeune senior in Pitre’s declaration, and considers the three to be siblings:

Nous trouvâmes en effet, en 1671, deux femmes de ce nom: l’une Edmée Lejeune, femme de François Gautherot âgée de 49 ans, et mariée en Acadie depuis plus de 35 ans; l’autre Catherine Lejeune âgée de 37 à 38 ans, femme de François Savoye. Or Pierre Lejeune, mentionné dans le déclarations de Belle-isle, et qui nous est aussi connu par plusieurs autre documents, pouvait avoir 14 ans en 1671 ; Edmée et Catherine Lejeune n’étaient donc pas ses sœurs ; mais elles pouvaient être les sœurs de son père, cet autre Pierre Lejeune signalé dans la déclaration de Belle-isle; d’où il résulterait qu’en en 1656, époque présumée de la naissance de Pierre Lejeune dit Briard, il y avait en Acadie une famille Lejeune composée de 3 membres : Edmée femme Gautherot, âgée alors de 34 ans ; Catherine femme Savoye, 22 ans; et Pierre Lejeune, père du nouveau né, 27 ans.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ *Collection de Documents inédits*, 3:146.

¹⁶⁹ Lucie LeBlanc Consentino, “Acadian & French Canadian Ancestral Home,” October 14, 2004, <http://www.acadian-home.org/declarations-BIM.html>, Viewed December 14, 2004.

¹⁷⁰ Rameau de St. Père, *Collection de Documents Inédits*, 3:144.

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Janet Chute, in "A good day on the Aboiteau," agrees with Rameau, noting that "According to the French census of 1671, three people bore the name [of Lejeune]; Aimee, Pierre and Catherine, who were likely siblings. Pierre had a native wife, and the couple had three infants, Pierre, Martin and Jeanne."¹⁷¹ The first problem with this statement is that the elder Pierre Lejeune *dit* Briard does not appear in the census. Catherine Lejeune, aged 38, is listed as the wife of Francois Savoye, and Edmée was the wife of François Gauterot.¹⁷²

Stephen White agrees with Chute that these two women were likely sisters. Important tools for those working in Acadian genealogy are the dispensations that were granted to allow cousin marriages that are found in some of the surviving church records. Such a dispensation, Stephen White believes, proves the relationship between Edmée and Catherine:

The dispensations for kinship granted upon the marriages of Thomas Johnson to Marie-Josèphe Girouard (Rg PR 8 Jan 1742), of Pierre Préjean to Marguerite Brun (Rg PR 25 Nov 1743), of Charles Girouard to Marie Josèphe Pitre (Rg PR 16 June 1744), of Pierre Pellerin to Anne Girouard (Rg PR 7 Feb 1745), and of Zacharie Thibodeau to Marie Josèphe Girouard (Rg PR 11 Feb 1754) demonstrate irrefutably that Francois Gautrot's wife, Edmée Lejeune and Francois Savoie's wife Catherine Lejeune were sisters.¹⁷³

The lack of a similar dispensation, however, makes White believe that the elder Pierre Lejeune was not Catherine and Edmée's brother:

At the time of the marriage of Nicolas Préjean, grandson of Francois Savoie and Catherine Lejeune, to Euphrosine Labauve, granddaughter of Pierre Lejeune and Marie Thibodeau (Rg St-Servan 8 Jan 1760), no dispensation for kinship was granted. If Euphrosine Labauve's great-grandfather Pierre Lejeune had been Catherine's brother, then Nicolas and Euphrosine would likewise have been cousins in the third to fourth degree.¹⁷⁴

As for the elder Pierre Lejeune's spouse, Rameau de St. Père also believed, and Janet Chute also agrees, that she was Mi'kmaq. White, however, believes her to have instead been the daughter of Germain Doucet, Sieur de la Verdure, one of the earliest settlers in Acadia. Doucet, from Brie, was a soldier and very prominent in the colony.¹⁷⁵ Again, White's main evidence for this relationship between Doucet and Lejeune is another kinship dispensation:

¹⁷¹ Chute, "A Good Day", 35n.

¹⁷² B-001, 1671 Census, LAC, MG 1, Series G1, Vol. 466, Reel F-768, 5-6.

¹⁷³ White, *English Supplement*, 223.

¹⁷⁴ White, *English Supplement*, 225.

¹⁷⁵ White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes* 1:526-527.

The dispensation for the fourth degree of kindred granted upon the marriage of Claude Trahan, grandson of Pierre Lejeune and Marie Thibodeau, to Anne LeBlanc (Rg GP 18 July 1746) can only be explained by supposing that the paternal grandmother of Claude's mother was a sister of one of Anne's great-grandparents (namely Daniel LeBlanc, Francoise Gaudet, Abraham Dugas, Marguerite Doucet, Michel Boudrot, Michelle Aucoin, Jean Belliveau, and Jeanne Bourg), one observes that the most probable connection would be between Pierre Lejeune's mother and Abraham Dugas's wife Marguerite Doucet. It is by this means that it has been deduced that the wife of Pierre Lejeune dit Briard Senior was Germain Doucet's daughter. Note also that the nickname Briard means originally from Brie, whence Germain Doucet supposedly also came, and that both Pierre Lejeune dit Briard Junior and Martin Lejeune had sons named Germain.¹⁷⁶

The name of Doucet's wife, and the daughter who married Lejeune *dit* Briard Senior, are not known, and it could have been possible that Germain Doucet's wife was Mi'kmaq or Abenaki. It is likely that the identity of the first Pierre Lejeune's wife will never be entirely certain.

Rameau's description of the second Pierre Lejeune, known as Pierre Lejeune *dit* Briard, and by extension the other "Métis" of the community, portrays him as somewhat of a ruffian, and a rather unsavoury character:

Sur ces trios enfants issus de Pierre Lejeune, 1^{er} du nom, un seul donc été se marier à Port-Royal, avec un Acadienne de race pure : c'est Pierre Lejeune 2^{ème} du nom, et surnommé *Briard* [italics in original] par son contemporains. Encore faut-il signalet qu'il avait conservé pour une fort part les habitudes grossières et instables des Micmacs: la correspondance du Gouverneur (M. de Menneval) le représente, en 1689, comme un coureur de bois, chasseur et vagabond, *une espèce de sauvage* [italics in original], servant d'intermédiaire entre les indiens et les traitants de pelleteries grand vendeurs d'eau-de-vie parmi les tribus Micmaques : « Vivant moitié avec ceux-ci, et moitié avec les Français, il se sauvait avec sa famille dans les solitudes rocheuses des côtes de l'Est, dès qu'il avait maille à partir avec les autres habitants, on avec la justice. ». C'était une espèce d'aventurier, dans le genre de l'*Oeil de Faucon*, célébré par Cooper.¹⁷⁷

And yet, it is not easy to explain how such a person was able to marry into not just a "pure" Acadian family in Port Royal, but the Thibodeaus, one of the most prominent families in the colony, without the connection to someone as prominent as Doucet. The Thibodeaus were millers and merchants, and were even financing colonization schemes along the St. John River. Pierre Lejeune *dit* Briard's father in law, Pierre Thibodeau, had founded the village of Chipoudy (the current Shepody, New Brunswick), on the St. John River, and had petitioned the King asking to be made Seigneur for the area. This was not granted because of a conflict with a nearby seignury over the territory. Nevertheless, his landholdings were impressive.¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, the sister of Pierre Lejeune *dit* Briard's wife married

¹⁷⁶ White, *English Supplement*, 223.

¹⁷⁷ *Collection de Documents Inédits*, 146.

¹⁷⁸ *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 2:629-630.

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Mathieu de Goutin, The King's Counsellor for Acadia, which made Pierre the brother-in-law of one of the highest-ranked officials in the colony.¹⁷⁹ Pierre, although listed at La Have in the 1686 census, was living at Port Royal in the 1693, 1698, 1700 and 1701 census, although he was back at La Have in 1708.¹⁸⁰

Pierre Lejeune *dit* Briard makes a few appearances in Port Royal's parish records. On September 8, 1705 Pierre and Marie Thibodeau's son Joseph was baptized at Port Royal. There is no mention of Indian Ancestry in the register.¹⁸¹ On September 24, 1705, Pierre Lejeune *dit* Briard appeared as a witness at his nephew Claude's wedding (Philippe Mius also appears). There is no mention of Indian ancestry for anyone in the entry.¹⁸² In 1712 his own son Pierre married Jeanne Benoit. Pierre and Marie Thibodeau are, at this time, listed in the register as residents of Piziguit. Again, there is no mention of any Indian ancestry.¹⁸³ This must be considered against the fact that when Indians did appear in the register, it was usually noted. Examples of this can be seen in the marriage of Francois Pisnay to Marie-Magdeleine Chegau on June 18, 1726 and in the marriage of Pierre Chegseau and Marguerite Baptiste on June 25, 1812, not to mention the 1720 marriage of Jean Comeau and Catherine Le Jeune mentioned earlier.¹⁸⁴

Pierre Lejeune *dit* Briard is mentioned in two other documents, neither of which shed much light on his supposed mixed-ancestry. These letters are part of a series of correspondence that were part of a feud between Governor Meneval and Lejeune's brother-in-law, de Goutin. Meneval was appointed Governor in 1687, and his instructions, dated April 5, 1687, stated that the Christianization of the Indians was the King's Chief object. To that end, special permits were required to trade with them, and foreigners were not to be permitted to trade or fish with them either. This had been an article of the Treaty of Breda, but the instructions noted that this had been tolerated by other governors.¹⁸⁵

Throughout his brief term, however, Meneval accused de Goutin and others, including La Mothe Cadillac, of violating these instructions and trading surreptitiously with the Indians. This was a deliberate attempt to undermine his authority, Meneval claimed, and Pierre Lejeune *dit* Briard was caught in the middle of this feud. On November 7, 1689, Meneval complained to the Minister of the Marine about the conspiracy against him. In one case:

¹⁷⁹ *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 2:257.

¹⁸⁰ White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes*, 2:1049.

¹⁸¹ B-003, LAC, MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 24-1, 65, Reel C-1869.

¹⁸² B-004, LAC, MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 24-1, Reel C-1869, 537.

¹⁸³ B-012, LAC, MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 12-3, Reel C-1869, 20.

¹⁸⁴ B-007 and B-008, LAC, MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 24-1, Reel C-1869, 494-495, 607.

¹⁸⁵ King's instructions to Meneval, dated April 5, 1687, quoted in Murdoch, 1:174. Furthermore, the King's instructions stated that Saint-Castin be coerced from his vagabond life of trading with the Indians and the English.

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Les sieurs de Souligne et Des goutin, tous deux fort avides de pelleteries ont envoyé le nommé Briard espece de sauvage beau-frère de Sieur Des goutin a la traite dans le bois vers le cap de sable contre la deffence que j'ay faite d'y aller sans ma permission conformément à l'ordre qu j'en ay porte dans mes instructions et luy ont donné entr'autres choses de l'eau-de-vie pour en traiter ausdits sauvages contre une deffence particulière que j'en ay faite pour remédier aux grands désordres qu'il committent quand ils ont de cette boisson dont ils s'enyvient volontiers.

J'ay seu qu'outre cela dit Briard avoit dit cent sottises ausdits sauvages au mespris de l'autorité du Gouverneur, pour relever celle delle du sieur Des goutin son beau-frère et le mettre en estime parmy eux entr'autres que les Gouverneur n'avoit pas l'autorité de deffendre l'eau de vie que son beau-frère luy avoit fait montrer ses ordres qui ne portaient point cela et qu'il ne laisseroit de leur en apporter tout cela est de conséquence et on le pourra voir par la déposition que m'ont donné deux habitans français établis en ses quartiers à qui les sauvages on dit toutes ses choses qu'ils ne pourroient savoir si le dit Briard ne leur avoit dittes adjoustant sur ce qui [que?] les sauvagesse plaignoient qu'ils ne trouvoient point de poudre à achepter au port royal qu'ils n'en manqueroient pas et qu'il y en avoit beaucoup dans un magasin sur le bord de l'eau voutant dire celle du Roy dont le sieur Desgoutins est gardien, ayant seu fout cela, je vis avertir le dit Briard, au retour de sa traite, de me venir parler pour savoir par luy mesme la vérité de tout ce que desous, mais il ne ving point, je les fis avertir une seconde fois, il [illegible] point encore, et par ses réponses me fit bien conoistre qu'il se sentort soutenu par ses messieurs et qu'il estoil conseillé pas eux de ne pas obéir.¹⁸⁶

Meneval referred to Briard as "*un espece de sauvage*," which literally means "a kind of savage," or "a sort of savage." Stephen White, in the English Supplement to his genealogical encyclopaedia, translates it as "a sort of Indian."¹⁸⁷ It can be translated as "part-Indian," or "half-breed," but the expression may simply refer to the fact that Lejeune lived like an Indian, and not a proper settler. In French, "*espece de...*" is usually meant as derogatory.

In a September 2, 1690, letter to his superiors, de Goutin came to the defence of his brother-in-law, pointing out apparent dishonesty on the part of Meneval:

When Sr. Pasquine was here, M. de Meneval had him taken to Port-Rossignol, forty leagues from here, on a bark that he had rented from Pierre Lejeune and another settler, for 24 livres, but afterwards he made out a voucher on which he had put down his expense at 40 livres, with the result that Pierre Lejeune, who had only received 24 livres, came to me to claim the difference; then M. de Meneval, who had drawn 40 livres, sent for Pierre Lejeune in order to put him in prison, and this man was obliged to escape in order to avoid such treatment.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ C-001, LAC, MG 1, Series C11D, Vol. 3, Reel C-11359, 288-290.

¹⁸⁷ White, *English Supplement*, 225.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 226.

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Pierre's brother, Martin Lejeune *dit* Briard, was born around 1661. He first appears in the 1686 census, married to Jeanne Kagiconiac (often spelled Kagijonias), who is listed as a "Sauvagesse de nation." Two of their children, Claude and Anne, left the coast, with the former to Piziguit and the latter to Grand Pré, marrying a man named René Labauve. Around 1699 Martin married Marie Gaudet (also sometimes spelled Godet), the daughter of Jean Gaudet and Jeanne Henry. One of their daughters, Claire, married François II Viger, the son of François Viger and Marie Mius, the daughter of Philippe II Mius and his Mi'kmaq wife. Two of his sons, however, Paul and Martin, had gone to Piziguit, where Paul married Marie Benoit, and Martin married Marie Renaud.¹⁸⁹

In his history of Acadia, Rameau de St. Père mentions the presence at Port Royal of Pierre Lejeune *dit* Briard in 1707, who he states was leading a contingent of "Métis" in the defence of the town.¹⁹⁰ This episode seems to have had a large currency, and has resurfaced a number of times since. It was repeated by M.B. DesBrisay, in his 1895 *History of Lunenburg County*, a book which mentions 'Métis' nowhere else in its text. DesBrisay notes he picked up the story from a source other than Rameau de St. Père:

The late P.S. Hamilton, in "Old New World Stories," referring to the attack on Port Royal by New Englanders under Major Wainwright, August 20th, 1707, Subercase in command there, states that there was also a body of Micmacs from Chebucto, and Metis from La Have, under one Le Jeune *dit* Briar, *courier du bois*." A Martin le Jeune lived at La Have in 1686.¹⁹¹

"Métis" participation in the defence of Port Royal reappears in Bona Arsenault's 1978 *Histoire et Généalogie des Acadiens*, where it is stated that "Des Micmacs de Chibouctou (Halifax) et des Indiens et Métis de La Hève étaient également venus prêter main-forte à Subercase."¹⁹² In preparing this report, however, contemporary documents written by de Goutin (Pierre Lejeune's brother in law) and Subercase were reviewed, and no mention was made of any contingent from La Have present at the

¹⁸⁹ Bona Arsenault, *Histoire et Généalogie*, 2:662-664; Vol. 4, 1416. Marie Gaudet's ancestors themselves are the subject of some controversy. Her Grandfather, Jean Gaudet, married an unidentified spouse before his second spouse, Nicolle Colleson. Some genealogists have claimed that Gaudet arrived in Acadia before 1621, and that his first spouse was Mi'kmaq, but others claim that Gaudet was already married to Colleson before he left France, which they claim was after 1638. Genevieve Massignon was of the latter opinion, and she noted that Gaudet was a common name on the d'Aulnay seigneurie in France. This meant that he would have been one of the colonists d'Aulnay brought over when he took over the governorship in 1638 (Massignon, *Parlers Français*, 1:47-48). Françoise Gaudet, the daughter of Jean and his unidentified first wife, married Jean Mercier, either in France or in Acadia, and was Antoine Babin's mother-in-law.

¹⁹⁰ Rameau de St. Père, *Une Colonie Féodale*, 2:334.

¹⁹¹ M.B. DesBrisay, *History of the County of Lunenburg* (Belleville, N.S.: 1972), 175. Peter Stevens Hamilton was a Nova Scotia politician, author and newspaper editor. He was a protégé of Joseph Howe, until he split with the latter over Confederation (*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*). In the course of researching this paper, an effort was made to find the *Old New World Stories* that DesBrisay refers to. Hamilton's personal papers at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia were reviewed, but no trace was found. It may be that being a newspaper editor, this was the title of a series of columns that ran in the newspaper, but if so, there was no indication as to the date of publication, if any. Time did not allow a more thorough search through newspaper microfilms.

¹⁹² Bona Arsenault, *Histoire et Généalogie des Acadiens*, 1:65.

defence of Port Royal that year. The only mention of La Have comes in a document by Subercase, dated October 1, 1707, in which he states that “*un sauvage*” had been dispatched to La Have in order to warn the French inhabitants of approaching danger.¹⁹³

The parish register for Port Royal, however, mentions that a “Jean Beliveau le Jeune” was buried at Port Royal on September 13, 1707, after having been killed by the British on the same day. In this case, however, “Lejeune” is a nickname (The Younger) which was used to differentiate him from his father, also named Jean Beliveau. This appellation appears in a number of cases, and may be the source of some of the confusion in Acadian genealogy.¹⁹⁴

Finally, a Jeanne Lejeune married an Indian, Francis Joseph, sometime around 1673. Some genealogists, as well as Janet Chute, believe this Jeanne Lejeune to have been a sister of Pierre and Martin Lejeune *dit* Briard, but once again Stephen White is not so sure. In 1754 the great-granddaughter of Francis Joseph and Jeanne Lejeune, Martine Roy, married Pierre Lejeune *dit* Briard and Marie Thibodeau’s grandson, Joseph Lejeune. White notes that there is no dispensation for kindred in the record of marriage, as there would have to have been if Jeanne had been Pierre’s sister.¹⁹⁵ Finally, the parish register of Port Royal notes that Catherine, the daughter of Jean Lejeune and François Joseph married Jean Comeau in 1720. Both the mother and father of the bride are listed as “*de la nation sauvage*.” Furthermore, the name is written as “Jeanne Le Jeune,” which again raises the possibility that “Le Jeune” was a nickname in this case.¹⁹⁶

5.5.5 Petitpas

Another prominent family in Acadia was the Petitpas. Claude Senior, the Sieur de la Fleur, was the clerk of the royal court at Port Royal, and his father-in-law, Bernard Bugaret, had contracted with Nicolas Denys to bring himself and ten men over from France. Jacques L’Hermite, in his 1716 description of Port-Royale, records that:

A man named Petitpas [is the] grandson of one named Bernard du Gueret [sic], dit St. Martin, a native of Bordeaux, who was settled at Mirliguesche, between La Hève and Chibouctou ... [by order] of gentlemen of the company about eighty years ago, this harbour was given him by the King, and the papers were recorded in the registry of Canada.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ C-004, LAC, MG 1, Series C11D, Vol. 6, f. 26v-127, Reel F-173.

¹⁹⁴ B-005, LAC, MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 24-3, Reel C-1870, 634.

¹⁹⁵ White, *English Supplement*, 224.

¹⁹⁶ B-007, LAC, MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 24-1, Reel C-1869, 607.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 66; White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes*, 2:1294-1296. Paul Guodry, the “Paul Labrador” described by Janet Chute, would also have been a descendant of Bernard Bugaret.

His son, Claude II, was a ship's captain noted, *according to the Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, for his involvement with the Mi'kmaq of Port-Royal, one of whom, Marie-Therese, he married. Of the children of that union, the eldest son, Barthélemy, married Madeleine Coste, whose father had been born in France. His daughter Judith married Bernarde Mares dit La Sonde, who was also born in France. His second wife was not Mi'kmaq, but was instead a resident of Port Royal.¹⁹⁸ Correspondence relating to the sieges of Port Royal in 1707 suggest that "Sieur de Petitpas" was in charge of the Indian contingent defending the fort. It is not clear whether it was the father or son, but as the son was over 40 years old by 1707, it seems likely that it was him.¹⁹⁹

5.5.6 Guédry

The Guédry family is another one which was identified by Rameau de St. Père as being "Métis." In his analysis of the Declarations of Bell-Ile-en-Mer he commented that:

A quelle époque les Guidry sont-ils venus s'établir en Amérique? Nous n'avons sur ce point aucune donnée bien précise. D'après le recensement de 1698, Claude Guidry était né en 1648; c'est un homme qui avait toujours vécu en dehors du groupe agricole de Port-Royal; bien qu'il eût 23 ans en 1671, bien qu'il fût marié en 1676, et qu'il ait eu une nombreuse famille longtemps avant 1698, il ne figure dans aucun recensement antérieur, ni en 1671, ni en 1686, ni en 1693; on le rencontre fortuitement à Port-Royal en 1698, et depuis lors le nom de Guidry ne se retrouve plus sur aucune liste. Cette famille a donc toujours demeuré avec les sauvages et les Métis; Guidry est un homme de la Hivve, il est né à l'Est, il y a vécu et il s'y plaît; son père devait être une de ces rudes pratiques des côtes de l'Est, qui refusèrent de suivre d'Aulnay à Port-Royal; peut-être était-il venu avec Razilly, peut-être remontait-il au-delà, jusqu'aux compagnons de Latour et de Krainguille. Il est très possible qu'il ait épousé une squaw, comme Latour et plusieurs autres. Rien n'est certain, mais tout cela est possible!²⁰⁰

Guédry himself did not appear to have a title, although according to Stephen White the family was known as Guédry *dit* Gravois *dit* Laverdure, which suggests that Claude may have had some connection with Germain Doucet, the Sieur de la Verdure. It is known that Claude Guédry married an Indian Woman, named Kesk8a, around 1671. Little else is known about Kesk8a, but the fact that she and Guédry had a daughter, Jeanne, whose baptism appears in the Church registry at Jemseg, at the mouth of the St. Jean River in present-day New Brunswick, suggests that she may have been Abenaki. It is interesting to note that Jeanne's godparents were Claude Petitpas (senior or Junior is not clear) and Jeanne Saint-Etienne de la Tour, the wife of d'Aprendestiguy, and the daughter of Charles La Tour and

¹⁹⁸ Clarence-Joseph d'Entremont. Biography of Claude Petitpas, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 2:524.

¹⁹⁹ C-004, LAC, MG 1, Series C11D, Vol. 6, ff. 126v-127, Reel F-173; C-005, LAC, MG 1, Series C11D, Vol. 6, ff. 125-126, Reel F-173; *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 2:534.

²⁰⁰ *Collection de Documents Inédits*, 170.

his first, Mi'kmaq wife.²⁰¹ It is not clear, however, whether this connection with the La Tour and Petitpas families was due to their Mi'kmaq roots or their connections with the colony's gentry.

Claude Guédry's second wife was Marguerite Petitpas, the daughter of Claude Petitpas Sr., the Sieur de la Fleur (see above). The baptism of one of their children, Paul Guédry, is reported in the parish register for Port Royal. Paul was born in 1701, and was baptized by a neighbour. He was officially baptized on September 8, 1705, by the missionary, Felix Pain, on one of his trips to Mirliguesche. His godmother was Marie Thibodeau, the wife of Pierre Lejeune *dit* Briard. There is no mention of any Indian ancestry in the register.²⁰²

5.5.7 Martin

Finally, the 1671 census listed one Pierre Martin Le Jeune as having an Abenaki wife, Anne Ouestuorouet. It is thought that Pierre had some connection to the d'Aulnays and the LeBorgnes, for Alexander LeBorgne, the Sieur de Port-Royal, and the husband of Anastasie Saint-Castin, granted Martin a tract of land.²⁰³

6.0 La Have 1632-1754

There were a number of small settlements along the coast of the study area, including Port Rossignol, Port Razoir, Fort Lomeron, Cheboque and Pobomcoup, and Ouiknagan, but little is known of any of them apart from what appeared in reports such as those written by Governor Villebon in 1699, which was presented earlier. Some of these were only trading posts and in some cases, it is not clear today where they were, let alone who lived in them. This chapter will focus on perhaps the largest, La Have, which for the purposes of this chapter includes the settlement at Mirliguesche.

It appears to have been Rameau de St. Père who first identified La Have, at the mouth of the La Have River, as a "Métis" (his word) settlement, an assertion that has been repeated in many other works. La Have became the capital of Acadia in 1632, when Razilly was made the governor, and settlers began to arrive. Still, Rameau de St. Père noted that:

Les côtes de l'est de l'Acadie ont toujours été un centre demi-sauvage, demi-civilisé, où se réunissaient volontiers des familles métisses, dont la première origine remonte certainement jusqu'aux compagnons de Biencourt et de Latour. Quelques-unes de ces familles compaiaient déjà une ou deux générations lors du recensement de 1771.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes* (Vol. 1), 771 ; B-002, LAC, MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 1, Reel C-3021. 8. "8" was sometimes used by French priests to approximate a sound in the Mi'kmaq language which was sometimes translated as "ou."

²⁰² B-003, LAC, MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 24-1, Reel C-1869, 64-67.

²⁰³ White, *English Supplement*, 219. The term "Le Jeune" in this instance has no connection to the Lejeune *dit* Briard family. It appears to simply be a nickname to distinguish between father and son.

²⁰⁴ Rameau de St. Père, *Une Colonie Féodale*, 2:348.

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Much is unknown about the exact numbers and circumstances of the first true settlers to come to Acadia. Margaret Coleman, studying the question of the number of settlers who came out with the Razilly expedition, notes that the records are not clear as to how many settlers were brought out in 1632. There do not appear to be any extant passenger lists. Various accounts suggest that they included sailors, soldiers, workmen, craftsmen, several Capuchins, a number of noblemen and 12-15 families. Coleman, however, thinks it unlikely that any actual colonists came in 1632.²⁰⁵

Various accounts suggest that there were 12-15 women who arrived with the expedition in 1632. If that were the case, Coleman suggests, it is odd that the first recorded French birth in Acadia did not occur until 1636. Coleman notes that it was not until 1636 that Genevieve Massignon was able to find any evidence of actual settlers going to Acadia. A passenger list for the Saint-Jehan, sailing from La Rochelle on April 1, 1636, included many names which later appeared in Acadian censuses. Some of the people who sailed in 1636 were back in France in 1637 so it is likely that they were *engagés*.²⁰⁶

Rameau de St. Père wrote, and it has been repeated in many histories of the region since, especially those of Delauvier and Andrew Hill Clark, that when d'Aulnay moved the capital from La Have to Port Royal, it was the "Métis" who stayed behind, either by choice or by compulsion. Nicolas Denys, who was present at the time, however, mentions nothing about this. In his *Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America*, which was published in 1675, Denys only states that D'Aulnay, afraid that the La Have area would become inhabited (which would ruin the fur trade), "took away all the residents of La Haive to Port Royal, holding them there as serfs, without allowing them to make any gain."²⁰⁷

This was not to be the last of La Have's troubles either, for in the 1650s, after the death of d'Aulnay, one of his creditors, Emmanuel LeBorgne, sailed from France to collect his debts, and following a dispute with Denys, had his followers capture Denys and bring him to Port-Royal. On the way back to Port Royal, La Have, which was being operated as a trading post by Denys, was burned to the ground.²⁰⁸

A number of contemporary individuals wrote about La Have, but no contemporary report mentioned the existence of a village containing people of mixed-ancestry at La Have. Des Meulles, in his 1686 report on the eastern coast, made to accompany his census, wrote that:

La Haive est un port des plus beaux de toute l'Acadie, enformé de plusieurs isles très considérables dans ce havre et dans ces isles, il y peut mouiller plus de mil ou quinze cent vaisseaux, toujours a-flot et en grande siureté. Ce lieu a toujours esté considéré par

²⁰⁵ Margaret Coleman. *The Acadians at Port Royal* (Ottawa: 1969), 2.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 3.

²⁰⁷ Denys, *Description*, 151.

²⁰⁸ Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*, 1:131.

les Anglois – et on y a veu jusques à douze et quinze gros vaisseaux faisant la pesche de la morüe seiche. Il y a des habitans au nombre de trios ou quatre qui ont commencez des habitations assez raisonnables on peut facilement peupler cet endroit parce qu'il y a une coste de dix ou douze lièvres, où les terres sont fort bonnes, sans compter beaucoup d'au très endroits en remontant la rivière qui se trouveroient fort [illegible]-pres jurer y faire vivre des habitans. Il y a encore une autre rivière à douze lièvres de la que l'on appelle la petite rivière de la Haive, ou il y a quelques habitans qui y vivent assez doucement, la plupart songent peu à faire valoir leurs terres, ne s'attachant qu'à la traite du pelteries [sic] avec les sauvages qu'ils échangent ensuite avec les Anglois qui les viennent voir tous les ans et leurs apportent toutes leurs nécessités. Cette traite a quelque douceur en apparence mais elle causera toujours la perte du païs parce qu'elle rende les habitants fénéants qui trouvent avec ces pelteries de farines et des biscuit qu'on leur apporte, au lieu de défrecher des terres pour en tirer de bon grain, ce qui les attache peu au païs, n'es tants point accoutumez au travail pour peu que le commerce des peltreis cesse, ils quittent le païs et se retirent aux Anglois.

Tous les habitans de ces cantons la aiment la pesche, et principalement ceux de la Haive, mais ayant esté pilléz plusieurs fors, et ne trouvant point le débit de leur poisson ils ne s'y attachent plus On peut aller encore de la Haive au Port Royal, qui'en est à trente lièvres pas les terres, il y a bien des gens qui ont soivent faits ce voyage.²⁰⁹

Clarence-Joseph d'Entremont, in his book celebrating the 350th anniversary of La Have, in 1982, stated that during a visit to La Have he had made 12 years earlier, he was told by the elderly people of the area of an "Indian and French burial ground." He noted some stones on the south side of the river that may have been grave markers, but they were not, as far as he could see, in the style of Mi'kmaq burials. His main interest was to find the graves of settlers that may have come with Razilly, but he cautioned that:

We have to say that if these stones were put there to indicate where the "French" were buried, these "French" were not necessarily of Razilly's group, because in the course of the Acadian history, at some later date, there lived at Petite Rivière, typical Acadian names, whose families might have been allied to the Indians, names like Godet, Lejeune, Boutin.²¹⁰

What is interesting about this quote is that Entremont points out Acadian families which he believed had closer connections to the Mi'kmaq of the region than other Acadian families did. At the same time, Entremont establishes a separation between the Acadians and the Indians; stressing that if the grave stones were not "Indian," they had to be "French."

Rameau stated that a number of "Métis" families do not appear on the census roles for La Have. This assertion was repeated by Bona Arsenault in his history of the Acadians. The 1708 census of La Have

²⁰⁹ E-003, LAC, MG 1, Series C11D, Vol. 3, Fol. 104-114.

²¹⁰ C.J. Entremont, *350th Anniversary of La Have* (West Pubnico NS: 1982), 24.

however, lists eight French Families, and 22 Indian families.²¹¹ It is unclear why Indian families would appear on the census, but mixed-ancestry families would not. Pierre and Martin Lejeune appear on the 1708 census as Briart. Interestingly, the list of Indian families contains a list of Indian Widows, one of whom is named "Briart."²¹²

In conclusion, it is not clear how Rameau de St. Père reached the conclusion that La Have was a "Métis" settlement, as none of the available sources support this assertion. Nonetheless, it is plausible that the settlers here were in much closer contact to the Mi'kmaq than settlers elsewhere in Acadia, at least those in the peninsula. Still, little was known about the region, and de Meulles 1686 report is one of the extant which describes the area. He mentioned no individuals of mixed-ancestry, however, even though that was a subject that he had commented upon elsewhere (see his report on the St. John River, also written in 1686, in the section on métissage, above)

7.0 British Conquest 1713-1763

7.1 Overview

New England had always played an important role in Acadian history from the earliest days of Acadia. Fishermen and traders had plied the coast for almost a century before 1713, and in the absence of attention from France, the Acadians depended upon the New England trade for its survival. Sometimes the French authorities attempted to curtail this trade, and sometimes they looked the other way. Charles La Tour actively sought New England's assistance in his dispute with d'Aulnay, and at other times French Governors, particularly towards the end of the 17th century, complained that New England merchants had become as brazen as to actually establish trading posts within Port Royal. Officials were powerless to stop these traders, for they knew that if they took action against the traders, or even traded with the French, New England would retaliate.²¹³

During certain periods, trade with New England was encouraged. A letter from the King of France to Frontenac, the Governor of New France, dated April 25, 1679, recommended that Acadia remain on good terms with the English colonies. This may have had something to do with the restoration of the Stuarts to the English throne. The later Stuarts, Charles II and James II, were very much inclined towards France, and the French and English governments enjoyed warmer relations than they had had at any time in the previous century, or would have again until after Waterloo (1815).

²¹¹ Rameau, *Une Colonie Féodale*, Vol. 2, 204-205; Arsenault, *Histoire*, Vol. 1, 90; 1708 Census, B-006, LAC, MG 18, File 18.

²¹² 1708 Census, B-006, LAC, MG 18, File 18.

²¹³ M. Tibierge, "Report" in Webster, *Acadia*, 141. The French were not the only ones angered by the activities of the New England merchants. On August 1, 1754, Charles Lawrence complained to the Lords of Trade that New England merchants were still trading with the French in the Bay of Fundy, and he believed that French and Indian military efforts would have ceased much earlier if they had not been supplied by New England (A-020, LAC, MG 11, CO 217, Vol. 15, No. H.256, ff. 90-91, Reel B-1021).

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This situation ended abruptly with the exile of James II in 1689, and the accession of William of Orange to the throne. At the same time a war with the Indians broke out along New England's frontier with New France, and Sir William Phipps, with his army raised in Massachusetts, struck at Acadia, capturing both Port Royal and La Have in 1690. These conquests were abandoned, however, within two years. In 1702, when Britain declared war against France in Europe, a series of attacks against villages along the New England Frontier were launched, and retaliations against Acadia were undertaken. There were two attempts to capture Port Royal in 1707, both of which were defeated by Governor Subercase, whose small detachment of regular soldiers were augmented by Acadians and Indians led by the son of the original Baron Saint-Castin.²¹⁴

The New Englanders returned in 1710, however, under Col. Nicolson, and Port Royal changed hands for the last time. Acadia (and Newfoundland) was granted to Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713, which also left Ile Royale (Cape Breton Island) and Ile St. Jean (Prince Edward Island) as French possessions. The treaty did create a number of difficulties, however, in that the boundaries of Britain's prize were never firmly defined. Instead, the treaty stated that, "Commissioners will be named to fix boundaries between English and French possessions." The Commissioners debated for a number of years, and produced reports, but the boundary question was never settled. The treaty specified that Acadia's "ancient limits" needed to be surrendered, but what those ancient limits were was a matter of dispute. The French believed that what they had surrendered consisted merely of the peninsula, what is today the Province of Nova Scotia, while the British believed that they were entitled to not only the peninsula, but the former territories of La Tour and d'Aulnay, which included land on both sides of the Bay of Fundy, practically to the height of land separating Acadia from the St. Lawrence Valley. This entailed much of the modern Province of New Brunswick, as well as the State of Maine.

Article 14 of the Treaty of Utrecht gave French subjects the right to relocate, along with all of their movable property:

It is expressly provided that on all the said places and colonies to be yielded and restored by the Most Christian King (Louis XIV) in pursuance of this treaty, the subjects of the said King may have liberty to remove themselves within a year to any other place, as they shall think fit, with all their moveable effects. But those who are willing to remain here, and to be subjects to the Kingdom of Great Britain, are to enjoy the free exercise of their religion according to the usage of the Church of Rome as far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same.²¹⁵

The French had fully expected that Acadians would use this clause to relocate, preferably to Ile Royale (Cape Breton Island), where the French from Newfoundland had moved to, and where the fortress of Louisbourg was being constructed, to serve as a base of operations to hopefully dominate Nova Scotia and protect the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. The British administration, on the other hand, feared that the loss of the Acadians would weaken their own colony while New France would be strengthened. In the end, however, the Acadians stayed, reluctant to leave their own farms which had

²¹⁴ Naomi Griffiths notes that the degree to which the Acadians assisted the French troops to resist the British invaders is controversial to this day (Private Conversation, November 25, 2004).

²¹⁵ Treaty of Utrecht, Article 14, quoted in Arsenault, *History of the Acadians*, 77.

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been built up after so much work. A delegation of Acadians was actually sent to Ile Royale, and they reported back on September 23, 1713, that:

On the whole island there is no land fit for the maintenance of our families, since there are no grass lands large enough to feed our cattle which is our principle means of livelihood ... to leave our homes and cleared lands for new uncultivated land which must be cleared without help nor credit would expose our families to perishing by famine.²¹⁶

At the same time, the French exhibited a new aggressiveness towards taking their lost colony back. Under the terms of the treaty, the Acadians were allowed to keep their Catholic religion, and New France was to supply the necessary clergy. Using this access to the Acadians and the Mi'kmaq of the peninsula, the French used these missionaries as agents to organize resistance to the British, and to persuade the resident French to resettle in French territory. This was to have calamitous results later, Rameau de St. Père later wrote, as France "had no hesitation in pushing the Acadians into a disastrous struggle and complete ruin":

The French Government was always the same – it never had men or money to do what was needed at the proper time, and then it had to run to all kinds of expedients to patch up the demands made by the pride of its vanquished inefficiency.²¹⁷

H. Leander d'Entremont, a descendant of the first Philippe Mius and of those people expelled in the 1750's, wrote in the 1930s that France "began to covet what she had lost by her stupidity."²¹⁸

This was to have very definite effects, both on the history of the colony, but also on the historiography of the period. The Acadians were caught up in a struggle between the French and British that evidence suggests they really wanted no part of. Each side's government expected loyalty from them, and in the end, both sides expressed disappointment. The Acadians appear to have attempted to appease both sides. To the French they claimed to be loyal subjects of the King of France, and to the British authorities they pleaded that they were loyal to King George, although they forced on occasion to provide shelter and supplies to Indians hostile to Britain.²¹⁹

The British would spend much of the time between the conquest and the expulsions attempting, unsuccessfully, to get the Acadians to agree to take unconditional loyalty oaths which renounce their former loyalties to France, and to agree to take arms against the French. They met with no success, although a number of Acadians did take conditional oaths, which were essentially a pledge of

²¹⁶ Acadian delegation to Ile Royale, September 23, 1713, quoted in Arsenault, *History of the Acadians*, 77-78.

²¹⁷ Rameau de St. Père, quoted by Griffiths, *The Acadian Deportation: Deliberate Perfidy or Cruel Necessity?* (Toronto: 1969), 62.

²¹⁸ H. Leander d'Entremont, *The Baronnie de Pombcoup and the Acadians: A History of the Ancient "Department of Cape Sable, now known as Yarmouth and Shelburne Counties"* (Yarmouth, 1931), 30.

²¹⁹ Griffiths, "The Acadians," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 4:xxii-xxiii.

neutrality. In the end, the British used the failure of the Acadians to take an unconditional oath as a proof of disloyalty and an excuse for the Acadians' expulsion.²²⁰

The effect that the French attempts to retake the colony had on the historiography of Nova Scotia was that the British garrisoned the colony very parsimoniously, and the complete attention of the few British troops present in Nova Scotia was focussed upon Annapolis Royal, the new name for Port Royal, and upon the frontier with France, at Fort Beausejour in the Isthmus of Chignecto, near Beaubassin. There was almost nothing written about events anywhere else in the province for nearly the whole period. La Have/Mirliguesche reappears in British documents only in 1749, when the British established Halifax, the first British settlement on the Atlantic coast. The only reports that came out of the area were those of French missionaries, reporting back to their superiors in Québec, and the only information they contained were usually censuses, and usually reports of how many armed men could be raised in certain areas at any given times.²²¹

The fact that the Indians were in a more or less constant state of war with the British administration also kept British officials out of the region. More than that, they also served to keep British settlers out of the province until the years just after the fall of Louisbourg and Québec. Thus, in this period, what went on in Nova Scotia, outside of the few garrisons, generally went unrecorded.

7.2 British Relationship to the Inhabitants

As the Acadians themselves left no first-person accounts of the period, it is difficult to judge their opinion of the British occupiers, and it appears from surviving official correspondence that it was certainly ambiguous. British authorities distrusted Acadian intentions almost from the very beginning. Paul Mascarene, the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, in one of his first reports on the colony, in 1720, remarked that it was unlikely that there would ever be an amicable relationship with either the French inhabitants or the Indians:

The reason for not admitting these Inhabitants are many and strong, and naturally deriving from the little dependence on their allegiance, The free exercise of their religion as promised to them [by the Treaty of Utrecht], implies their having missionaries of the Romish persuasion amongst them, who have that ascendance over that ignorant people, as to render themselves masters of all their actions, and to guide and direct them as they please in temporal as well as in spiritual affairs. These missionaries have their superiors at Canada or Cape Breton, from whom it is natural to think, they will receive such commands as will never square with the English interest being such as these viz., Their forever inciting the Salvages [sic] to some mischief or other, to hinder their corresponding with the English; their laying all manner of difficulties in the way when any English Settlement is proposed or going on by inciting underhand the Salvages to disturb them, and making these last such a bugbear, as if they (the French) themselves durst not give any help to the English for fear of being

²²⁰ Ibid, xxv.

²²¹ Letter from Beauharnois and Hocquart to Count Maurepas, September 12, 1745, in O'Callaghan, *Documents*, 10:4-15; also "Description de l'Acadie" in E-002, LAC, MG I, Series CHA, Vol. 87, ff. 363-364v, Reel F-87.

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massacred by them, when it is well known the Indians are but a handful in this country. And were the French Inhabitants (who are able to appear a thousand men under arms) hearty for the British Government, they could drive away or utterly destroy the Salvages in a very little time. The French Inhabitants besides are for the generality very little industrious, their lands not improved as might be expected, they living in a manner from hand to mouth, and provided they have a good field of Cabbages and Bread enough for their families with what fodder is sufficient for their cattle they seldom look for much further improvement.²²²

Mascarene added that the chief employment of the “French Inhabitants” was farming, and that their spare time was spent hunting, and catching the “sable martins.” The young men, who had less farming to do, spent their summers fishing.²²³ It should be kept in mind, however, that the only population that the British had regular contact with were those people that lived in the main agricultural settlements that surrounded the Bay of Fundy. There is almost no recorded contact between the British and those that resided on the Atlantic Coast, including the portion within the study area, as the need to watch the French frontier absorbed most of their efforts.

While it was generally assumed by the British that the sympathies of the inhabitants were with the French, at times the French themselves were exasperated with the attitudes of the inhabitants. In the fall of 1744, François DuPont Duvivier, a French military officer of Acadian background,²²⁴ led a military expedition intended to capture Annapolis Royal. On August 27, 1744, Duvivier ordered the inhabitants to Mines, Piziquid, River Canard and Cobequid to acknowledge their obligations to the King of France and to provide supplies. “Those who contravene the order shall be punished as rebellious subjects, and delivered into the hands of the savages,” he wrote, “as enemies of the state.” On October 10, 1744, however, a letter signed by 10 residents of Cobequit replied that:

We hope gentlemen that you will not plunge both ourselves and our families into a state of total loss; and that this consideration will cause you to withdraw your savages and troops from out district.

We live under a mild and tranquil government, and we have all good reason to be faithful to it. We hope, therefore, that you will have the goodness not to separate us from it.²²⁵

²²² Naomi Griffiths, *The Acadian Deportation*, 29-30.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 31.

²²⁴ In fact, Duvivier’s mother, Marie Mius, was the daughter of Jacques Mius, the eldest son of Philippe I, and Anne, the daughter of Charles La Tour and Jeanne Motin, d’Aulnay’s widow. Duvivier’s brother Joseph, who was also an officer on this expedition, was married to Marie-Josephe, the daughter of Alexandre LeBorgne and Anastasie Saint-Castin, who herself was the daughter of Saint-Castin and his Abenaki wife Mathilde (White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes*, 1:588-590).

²²⁵ Akins, *Selections*, 134-135.

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While Duvivier had been hoping to pick up Acadian recruits, he was in the event able to pick up fewer than a dozen. Meanwhile, Mascarene reported that same summer that the Acadians were helping the British in their defence of the colony. On July 2, 1744 he informed the Secretary of War that:

The French Inhabitants of this River have kept [sic] hitherto in their fidelity and no ways join'd with the Enemy, who has kill'd most of their cattle & the Priest residing amongst them has behav'd also hitherto like an honest man tho' none of them dare come to us at present. They help'ed in the repairing of our Works to the very day proceeding the attack.²²⁶

Mascarene appeared to be questioning his earlier comments (see his report from 1720, quoted above) on the implacable animosity between the French inhabitants and the British. Their earlier protestations about being threatened by the Mi'kmaq, which Mascarene had dismissed as a mere excuse for inaction or cooperation with the Mi'kmaq, now seemed to have a basis in fact. He informed Governor Shirley on July 28, 1744, that:

The French Inhabitants as soon as the Indians withdrew from us brought us Provisions and continue to testify their resolution to keep their fidelity as long as we keep this Fort. To Deputies arrived yesterday from Mainis, who have bro't me a Paper containing an association sign'd by most of the Inhabitants of that place to prevent Cattle being transported to Louisbourg according to the Prohibition sent them from hence. The french Inhabitants are certainly in a very perilous Situation, those who pretend to be their Friends and old Masters having let loose a parcell of Banditti to plunder them, whilst on the other hand they see themselves threatned [sic] with ruin & Destruction, if they fail in their allegiance to the British Government.²²⁷

Later, the Missionary Le Loutre would attempt to convince the population of Beaubassin to leave and to resettle on French territory, and in 1747 the Indians burned Beaubassin to the ground, probably on Le Loutre's orders, when not enough of the townsfolk followed his advice. Meanwhile, the British were angered at what they conceived to be the assistance that the Acadians were giving to the Indians. In the period between 1750 and 1755 a number of Acadians did leave British controlled territories, settling in either west of the Chignecto Isthmus, or on Ile St. Jean.²²⁸ It is not clear how many of these people, if any, were from the study area, although it seems that it was during this period that a group of inhabitants left Mirliguesche to resettle on Cape Breton Island. Their departure and subsequent return will be discussed in the later (see the section on Lunenburg, below).

7.2.1 Civil Administration

²²⁶ *Collection de Documents inédits*, 2 :80-81.

²²⁷ *Ibid.* 2:81.

²²⁸ Arsenault, *History of the Acadians*, 111-113.

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The British were granted Acadia after 1713, but most indicators of effective control were absent or limited. There would be no new settlements until Halifax was founded in 1749, and no authority except for tiny, over-extended garrisons. Few British troops ventured very far from the forts. The colony was officially run by a Governor and an Executive Council, but the Acadians simply ignored most of their proclamations, which had no real power to enforce them. There was no system of survey or land grants, and if they needed more acreage, the Acadians simply occupied it.

After the Treaty of Utrecht there was no formal court system until Jonathon Belcher of Massachusetts was appointed Chief Justice in 1754. Prior to that, the functions of a court were handled by the Governor's council, which was an appointed body. The Government lacked the ability to pass statutes, and as John Bartlett Brebner commented, was constantly writing to London asking for guidance, and new statutes.²²⁹

One of the difficulties underlying the operation of a government in the period from 1710 to 1749, according to Brebner, was that the Acadian inhabitants of the province were debarred by their religion from assuming political duties of a legal and regular sort. They could not take oaths under the *Test and Corporation Acts* which were required of every official and active citizen in England, and which were actually in force among the officers in Nova Scotia. They could not, therefore, elect or serve in a legislative assembly.²³⁰

The Governor's Executive Council was to consist of twelve with twelve names in reserve, and yet it subsequently proved difficult to secure the attendance of the quorum of five. Beyond his capacity as a military commander the governor possessed little executive power except that with the advice and consent of the Council he could direct settlement and make land grants. Between 1726 and 1731 the Board of Trade considered empowering the Governor in Council to legislate, but nothing came of it in the confusion over timber reservations. Mascarene, in a letter to the Lords of Trade dated November 23, 1741, warned that the weakness the government demonstrated in cases such as this was setting a bad example to the French inhabitants:

The want of instruction how to dispose of the increase of families of these inhabitants is of no small perplexity. It being impossible for the reason already given to hinder them from settling unappropriated lands, and as our own weakness manifestly appears by our not being able to hinder them, it makes the several repeated order to be more and more unregarded, and the license in that respect increase more and more.²³¹

This situation, according to Brebner, explained the long and detailed communications from the Governors to the Board of Trade, as an order from the Board of Trade was like special legislation and "filled a gap in the fabric of Government." This was not enough, however, and Governors were forced to deal with emergencies as time went on, dealing with chronic problems by issuing proclamations with the approval of the council. These emergency laws were seldom annulled by the Board of Trade.

²²⁹ Brebner, *New England's Outpost*, p. 136.

²³⁰ Brebner, *New England's Outpost*, 135.

²³¹ Akins, *Selecions*, 114-115.

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Also, the Governor and Council formed a supreme court, as was the model of Virginia, which sat at Port Royal on the first Tuesday of February, May, August and November.²³²

Making legislation was one thing, enforcing it was another. British rule was further hampered by the weakness of the garrison and its concentration in Annapolis Royal. In their letter to Count de Maurepas in 1745, which proposes a plan for the re-conquest of the colony, Beauharnois and Hocquart informed him that the British had only 300 men in Annapolis Royal. Furthermore:

All the rest of Acadia is inhabited exclusively by French people, and according to the information we have received of their numbers there may be about 2500 men, capable of bearing arms at Beaubassin, Minas and Port Royal, the three most populous places. As regards the disposition of the inhabitants towards us, all, with the exception of a very small portion, are desirous of returning under the French dominion; Sieur Marin, and the officers of his detachment, as well as the missionaries, have assured us of this. ... If notwithstanding this preliminary, any settlers should still be found to hesitate declaring themselves, all difficulties would be overcome by the employment of menaces and force.²³³

Not only that, they added that the Mi'kmaq had essentially thwarted any attempt by the British to either use or occupy the Atlantic coast:

The English do not dry any fish on the east coast of Acadia since the war, through fear of being surprised there and killed by the Micmacs. These Indians rove along the coast from spring to autumn in search of a livelihood. Lately, a boat belonging to an English merchantman having landed at La Hève for wood and water, these Indians killed 7 of the crew and brought their scalps to Sieur Marin; they can be depended upon to pursue the same course as long as means will be found to furnish them with arms, powder and ball.²³⁴

Beauharnois and Hocquart also claimed that the Mi'kmaq had the power to interfere with the colony's commerce, and could, if they desired, intimidate the Acadians into obedience. As an example, they referred to a recent request by the newly installed British commander of Louisbourg for cattle from the inhabitants:

The [British] commandant of Louisburg has recently caused notice to be given to the French of Acadia, that they should bring cattle there the same as before; the Micmacs have plainly told the French that they would not suffer any to be conveyed there; that they would kill and eat all they should catch on the carrying place between Cobeguit to

²³² Brebner, *New England's Outpost*, 137-138.

²³³ O'Callaghan, *Documents*, 10:4.

²³⁴ *Ibid*, 11.

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Tagmegouche, which is the cattle road; none had been transported the 15th of August last.²³⁵

Ironically, the Acadian habit of simply occupying extra lands as needed had the effect of bringing the Acadians closer to the Executive Council, for while they believed that they could safely ignore the Council, they started to dispute land holdings among themselves. While previously disputes of this nature were settled by the local priests, the disputes became so numerous and so complex that they gradually developed the habit of bringing their difficulties to the Council and the practice grew so regular that one Acadian would plead for another almost as a lawyer (they still referred more petty disputes to the priests).²³⁶ In a letter to the Board of Trade dated December 5, 1753, Lawrence complained about the difficulties involved in resolving their disputes:

I come next to the French Inhabitants who are tolerably quiet as to Government matters, but exceedingly litigious among themselves. As this Spirit of Litigation shows the value they set upon their Possessions it is so far a favourable circumstance. But as there is no regular method of administering Justice amongst them, they grow very uneasy at the decision of their Disputes having been so long put off from Time to Time. To give them a hearing in Our Courts of Law would be attended with insuperable difficulties, Their not having taken the Oath of Allegiance is an Absolute Bar in Our Law to thus Holding any Landed Possessions, and your Lordship may imagine how difficult it must be for the Courts to give Judgement in Cases where the Proprietors claims are far from being ascertained, and where the Disputes commonly relate to the Bounds of Lands that have never been Surveyed that We know of.²³⁷

The greatest problem, according to Lawrence, was the difficulty in adjudicating disputes involving unsurveyed land. Lawrence suggested sending a representative through the colony the following year that would have the authority to rule on land cases, but the Board of Trade, in a letter dated April 4, 1754, advised him to proceed with caution:

We have no objection to the method you propose of sending a person amongst these people, to endeavour to quiet them by examining into and hearing their complaints, but we apprehend it will be impossible for them to enter into a judicial case of proceeding ... great care must be observed, that they do not [] any [] which may in any degree seem to admit a right in these people to their lands before they have accepted the conditions of the oath of allegiance.²³⁸

Between the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 and the Seven Years War (1756 to 1763), the British revived the ancient feudal dues that were owed, and collected these as "Quit Rents." They were usually paid in

²³⁵ *Ibid*, 14.

²³⁶ Brebner, *New England's Outpost*, 140.

²³⁷ A-019, LAC, MG 11, CO 217, Vol. 14, H.235, f.391, Reel B-1026.

²³⁸ Akins, *Selections*, 207.

produce and converted to sterling. This was the only form of taxation in the colony. According to a memorial by Mascarene in 1752 the average payment per farmer was a bushel of wheat and two capons. Maintenance of the colony was paid from the salaries of the officials and troops and the small expenditures on the forts.²³⁹

Brebner noted that despite a lack of direction from London, by 1755 a form of government had evolved out of necessity:

These scattered farmers were not inclined to gather in person to meet any official and from 1710 on made use of deputies chosen from their number. This arrangement was satisfactory to the English and they proceeded to regularize it. To each settlement was allotted a quota which was first arbitrarily imposed and later regularized to meet the habitants' request. It was insisted that the deputies be drawn from the more respectable men of property and elections were held every October 11. They were expected to answer for their communities when any disorder took place, and occasionally they were requested to make investigations and reports. Through them habitants received proclamations, and they were expected to attend to the preservation of order and the supervision of boundaries, roads, dykes and bridges.²⁴⁰

After the expulsions, with the arrival of British and American settlers, an elected assembly was established, which first met on October 2, 1758. This was the first such assembly in English Canada, but by that time the Acadians were either removed or in hiding.²⁴¹

7.2.2 Surveys and Settlements

The Acadians were unique among European settlers in that their land holdings were never surveyed, a state of affairs which lasted throughout the entire period of the French regime, and right up until the expulsions began in 1755. Several *seignuries*, as many as 50, were granted to individuals in what are now known as the Maritime provinces, including Newfoundland, states Don W. Thompson in his authoritative history of Surveying in Canada, *Men and Meridians*, but many of these *seignuries* really only existed on paper, as they were never settled and lines were never marked on the ground. According to Thompson the earliest official reference to a survey on the Nova Scotia coasts is fragmentary. It appears that on August 26, 1721, Governor Philipps wrote the Board of Trade to inform them that a government sloop had arrived, but there was not time for a survey that summer.²⁴² During the next few years Captain Thomas Durrell prepared maps and charts of the coast of Nova

²³⁹ Brebner, *New England's Outpost*, 154.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 155. No boundaries, roads, dykes or bridges dating from the period before British and American settlement (pre-1760) have been identified in the study area.

²⁴¹ Don W. Thompson. *Men and Meridians: The History of Surveying and Mapping in Canada* (Ottawa: 1967), 1:119. Thompson's source is a 1721 letterbook in the possession of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 1:116.

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Scotia, and the first recorded grant of land in Nova Scotia was to Major General Cosby, the Lieutenant Governor, who received an area of about 1 acre on Canso Island in 1722.²⁴³

Lieutenant Governor Armstrong, on October 5, 1730, complained in a letter to the Lords of Trade that the holdings of the French inhabitants needed to be surveyed, "because otherwise it will be impossible even to lay before your lordships any just plan of this country." He added that "They are a very ungovernable people." For their part, the Acadians protested that they were too poor to pay for the surveys ordered, and the inhabitants of the Annapolis River actually went as far as to draw up a petition announcing their refusal to have their lands surveyed.²⁴⁴ A concern of both the Crown and the Acadians was the disposal of lands abandoned after the Treaty of Utrecht. The Acadians claimed those for themselves, but Armstrong was concerned that without those there was no other suitable land for prospective Protestant settlers. Later evidence suggests that Acadians were simply taking the land, and that the British authorities, holed up in their forts, were powerless to stop them. Without surveys, the British claimed that they could not judge the worthiness of Acadians' claim to certain lands.²⁴⁵

The first systematic survey appears to have been commenced in 1733, when Armstrong ordered George Mitchell to survey the Annapolis River from the Gut (the point where the Annapolis River emptied into the Bay of Fundy) upwards, including the cultivated and uncultivated parts. The map was corrected in 1753.²⁴⁶ It is not known if this survey then led to a system of land registry, or whether this map was strictly for the information of the Governor.

The first casual mention of the presence of a surveyor general in the province is found in a letter dated August 4, 1738 from Governor Armstrong to the Council Secretary, Sherriff: "This is therefore to acquaint you that for the future You are not to make Out a Patent or any other Survey or Estimation then made by the Surveyor Gen. Col. Dunbar or One of his Deputys ..."²⁴⁷ The first British settlement on the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia was Halifax, which was established in 1749 by Cornwallis and roughly 2,500 settlers.²⁴⁸ Charles Morris arrived in 1745 to prepare a survey of the colony. In 1748 he surveyed the Bay of Fundy. Morris also laid out the town lots of Halifax in 1749. He was made Surveyor General on September 25, 1749.²⁴⁹

²⁴³ Archibald MacMechan, Ed. *A Calendar of Two Letter-Books and One Commission Book in the Possession of the Government of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: 1900), 70.

²⁴⁴ Akins, *Selections*, 92; *Report of the Archives of Canada for 1905*, 2:76-77

²⁴⁵ Lawrence to Lords of Trade, A-019, LAC, MG 11, CO 217, Vol. 14, H.235, f.391, Reel B-1026. See also the section on Chebogue, below.

²⁴⁶ Thompson, *Men and Meridians*, 1:118.

²⁴⁷ Akins, *Selections*, 117.

²⁴⁸ Stephen Patterson, "1744-1763: Colonial Wars and Aboriginal Peoples", in *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History*, 127-128.

²⁴⁹ Thompson, *Men and Meridians*, 1:117-118.

As an example of how little was known about the geography of Nova Scotia, it was not until March 1, 1754, being 41 years after the treaty of Utrecht, that Lawrence reported to the Board of Trade that a survey had recently discovered the head of the Shubenacadie River. He noted that it ran from its source about nine miles from Fort Sackville to Cobequid, which, it turned out, was the route that the Indians had always taken to molest Dartmouth.²⁵⁰

Not until 1759, after the expulsions, was the peninsular portion of Nova Scotia divided into five counties: Halifax, Annapolis, Kings, Cumberland and Lunenburg. This would include land within the study area. With the establishment of Halifax the granting of lands began in earnest and reached a peak between 1759 and 1765. During that period at least 20 individuals received holdings of 100,000 acres or more. In 1759 alone some 1,200,000 acres were granted. In 1765 more than one-fifth of the total arable land, or 1,500,000 acres, was granted.²⁵¹

During the years 1760 to 1765 an all-important movement of settlers into the country occurred. Most of the settlers came from New England. Granting of land by township had become the accepted practice. Townships were 100,000 acres and were granted to settlers collectively. The government's responsibility was limited to the external survey of the township lines.²⁵²

7.2.3 Demographics, 1713-1755

Prior to the expulsions, the British did not undertake censuses of the Acadian population, possibly because the administrative resources were not there; possibly because it was just too dangerous to leave the forts and major settlements. Prior to 1722, French missionaries who travelled through the colony during the British period undertook some censuses, but their work was incomplete. None of these censuses included the study area.

On occasion, British officials made estimates of the population. It was believed that the population of Nova Scotia at the time of the Treaty of Utrecht was around 2,000 people. After this, it increased rapidly. On September 2, 1730, in a letter to Lord Newcastle, the Secretary of State, Governor Philipps quoted the population of Nova Scotia as 4,000.²⁵³ By the time of the expulsions in 1755, however, Jonathon Belcher, the Chief Justice, stated that the Acadian population was roughly 8,000. Even that figure was probably too low. Placide Gaudet wrote in 1905 that the probable figure was probably closer to 10,000,²⁵⁴ while other estimates go as high as 18,000 people.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁰ LAC, MG 11, CO 217, Vol. 15, H.250, Reel B1026.

²⁵¹ Thompson, *Men and Meridians*, 1:118-119.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 119.

²⁵³ Letter from Philipps to Newcastle, September 2, 1730, summarized in *Report on Canadian Archives, 1894* (Ottawa: 1895), 73-74.

²⁵⁴ Placide Gaudet, "Acadian Genealogy", in *Report of the Archives of Canada for 1905*, 2:xv.

²⁵⁵ Statement of Moses De le Dernier, E-004, LAC, MG 21, Add. MSS. 19071, f. 262, Reel C-11964.

As for the population of the study area, the numbers are far from certain. Charles Morris noted in 1748 that there were roughly 1,200 Acadian families in Nova Scotia, 50 of which lived in the Cape Sable area. His estimate, however, appears to have come to him second hand, and the fact that he states a round number such as 50 seems that it was merely an estimate. In the same year, the French missionary Le Loutre reported that there were fewer than 100 families in the whole area from La Have to Cape Fourchu (present-day Yarmouth).²⁵⁶ In 1758, Pierre Landry of Cape Sable stated in a petition that there were forty families at Cape Sable.²⁵⁷

7.2.4 British Perceptions of Mixed-Ancestry Populations

During the years between the capture of Port Royal in 1710 and the expulsion of the Acadians in the late 1750s, British officials in Nova Scotia made a number of comments which indicated that they believed that intermarriage between the French inhabitants and the Indian population of the colony – both with Mi'kmaq in the peninsula and the Abenaki west of the peninsula – had occurred. It seems that the British tended to believe that the Acadians as a whole were a mixed-ancestry people, and the few times the subject was raised, it was referred to in very general terms.

At first the British were concerned that the French inhabitants of their new colony would migrate to Cape Breton, as they were entitled to do under Article 12 of the Treaty of Utrecht. Col. Nicolson wrote on June 29, 1713 that:

As to ... what may be the Consequence of French removing from Nova Scotia to Cape Breton they are Evidently these: First there leaving [illegible] Intirely destitute of Inhabitants, there being but French & Indians (Excepting the Garrison) in those parts, & and as they have Intermarried with Indians, by which & their being of one Religion they have a mighty Influence upon them so it's not to be doubted but they will Carry along with them to Cape Breton, both thee Indians & their Trade, Which is very Considerable, & as the Accession of such a number of Inhabitants to Cape Breton will make it at once a very Populous Colony (in which the Strength of all Country's [illegible] So it is to be considered that one hundred of the French who were born upon that Continent & are perfectly known in the Woods can March upon Snow Shoes & understand the use of Birch Canow's. are of more value & Service than five times their number of Raw men newly come from Europe.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ E-002, LAC, MG 1, Series C11A, Vol. 87, f. 364V, Reel F-87.

²⁵⁷ Charles Morris, "A Brief Survey of Nova Scotia" (E-001, LAC, MG 18, File 10). This unsigned, undated manuscript was found in the library of Woolwich Arsenal, London, sometime during the late 19th or early 20th centuries. John Bartlett Brebner believes that Charles Morris was the author and that it was written in 1748, because statements made in the text are identical to statements made in a report carrying Morris' signature found in the Brown Collection (LAC, MG 11, Add. MS 19071).

²⁵⁸ A-001, LAC, MG 11, CO 217, Vol. 1, Reel B-1021.

On November 24, 1714, Governor Vetch made a similar comment in his report to the Lords of Trade.²⁵⁹

On September 26, 1720, Governor Philipps discussed the failure of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia to undertake oaths of allegiance to the Crown, which he blamed in part on their blood ties to the Indians of the colony:

That by their continuing to plow and till their lands, to build new houses and other improvements they seem to have no thought of quitting this County, which we have reason to believe proceeds from a contempte of this Garrison, and a dependence on their own numbers, with a reliance on the assistance of the Indians, who are their firm allies and dependents by the types of long acquaintance, consanguinity and religion.²⁶⁰

From official correspondence there seems to be no more discussion of the matter for the next 25 years. It took a perceived crisis to bring the matter out into the open. In late 1744 rumours circulated that a squadron of ships from New England was sailing up the Bay of Fundy, with the men on these ships intent on taking Indian scalps in order to collect a bounty offered in New England. It was believed that the men on these ships were willing to take the scalps of those of mixed-ancestry as well, and this made several individuals in the colony afraid for their own safety. A quotation taken from the Council minutes for January 4, 1745, which was signed by Lt. Governor Paul Mascarene, indicates that the degree of intermarriage between the Mi'kmaq and the Acadians was greater than the small number of official marriages recorded in the previous century seemed to suggest:

...having learned by indirect means that several armed vessels were arrived from New England & that they had pressed by violence several Inhabitants of Annapolis Royal to go against the Indians & serve them as Pilots, & hearing they were coming up the Bay to do the same & to destroy all the Inhabitants that had any Indian blood in them & scalp them; - That as there were a great number of Mulattoes amongst them who had taken ye Oath - & who were allied to ye greatest families, it had caused a terrible allarm [sic], which made many put themselves on their guard, being very much frightened. ... the favour therefore that they demand is to know whether the People of Boston have a right to force them [to serve as pilots] & expose them to such danger.

...
The three inhabitants who were chosen by the three districts of the Grand Pré, Pizziquid and River Canard, to bring ye letter above mentioned, were called in, His Honour thereupon signified to them his resolution to give the Inhabitants his protection, provided they continued Steadfast in the Promises they had made not to do any thing against His Majesty's Interest... and that to prevent any Disorder which might happen by the New Eng^d People going up the Bay to pursue the Indian Enemy, he had given positive Instructions to them not to molest any of the inhabitants who had behaved themselves well, and in regard to the notion the Inhabitants had amongst them that all who had any Indian blood in them would be treated as Enemies, it was a very great

²⁵⁹ A-002, LAC, MG 11, CO 217 Vol. 1. A28, ff. 97-98, Rce1 B-1021.

²⁶⁰ A-004, LAC, MG 11, CO 217, Vol. 3: 1718, C34, Rce1 B-1022.

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mistake, since if that had been the Design of the New England armed vessells it might very well be supposed that the Inhabitants of this River [the Annapolis River] many of whom have Indian blood in them & some even who live within reach of the cannon would not be suffer'd to live peaceably as they do if that ever had been resolved upon.²⁶¹

What is interesting about this quote is that the Acadians who were most directly affected by the New Englanders – those living at Grand Pré and Piziquid, in the Annapolis Valley and the on the River Canard – lived in the main Acadian agricultural communities, which historians and anthropologists, such as Wicken, state had very little contact with the Mi'kmaq after the 1680s. If a large number of “Mulattoes” were to be found there, there was possibly a larger percentage of people of mixed-ancestry were found along the southern Atlantic coast, where contact between the Mi'kmaq and the French Inhabitants is supposed to have been more frequent. At the same time, this quote suggests that individuals of mixed-ancestry were fairly common amongst the Acadian population as a whole, and not just among the inhabitants of the study area.

In 1748, Charles Morris, an army officer who would become the first Surveyor General of the colony, wrote a rather lengthy description of the colony of Nova Scotia and the attempts of the French to recapture it. As for the French inhabitants in general, he describes them as half-way between the French of New France and the Indians, in both appearance and manner:

The People are tall and well proportioned, they delight much in wearing Long Hair, they are of a Dark Complexion in general, and somewhat of the mixture of the Indians, but there are some of a light Complexion. They retain the language and Customs of their Neighbours the French, with a [mild?] affectation of the native Indians, and imitate them in their Howling and Wild Tones in their Merriment; they are naturally full Chear and merry, [illegible], speak and promise fair, Faithful to the French, treacherous and deceitful to the English, very devout in their Religious exercises, ignorant as to any affairs but what concerns themselves, few being able to read well, and scarce above two or three in a district that can write.²⁶²

As the military struggle intensified, the alliances between the Acadians and the Mi'kmaq became of greater concern to the British authorities. In discussing the strategic situation in the Colony, and the need for more force, Lord Cornwallis frankly questioned the loyalty of the Acadians. He wrote on December 7, 1749 that many would assist the French and Indians in their wars against Britain. “Some of them will probably take arms, as they can easily disguise themselves, many of them are of Indian Blood & not unlike them.”²⁶³

²⁶¹ Minutes of the Exective Council of Nova Scotia, January 4, 1745: A-014, LAC, MG 11, CO 220, Nova Scotia “B” Series, Vol. 3, Reel H-1979, pp. 124-125.

²⁶² E-001, LAC, Charles Morris Fonds, MG 18, Filc 10, 84.

²⁶³ A-016, LAC, MG 11, CO 217, Vol. 9, No. 104, Fol. 128, Reel B-1024.

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Even French Officers agreed with that last assessment. Writing to an acquaintance in France from Louisbourg in 1756, De la Varenne, quoted above in the section on *Métissage*, also commented on the mixed-ancestry origins of the Acadian people as a whole.

They were a mixed breed, that is to say, most of them proceeded from marriages, or concubinage of the savage women with the first settlers who were of various nations, but chiefly French. The others were English, Scotch, Swiss, Dutch, & c. The Protestants amongst them, and especially their children were, in process of time, brought over to a conformity of faith with ours.²⁶⁴

Even after the expulsions, British officials believed that it was dangerous to keep the few remaining Acadians who had somehow avoided capture within the province:

They [The Council] apprehend there cannot be any hopes of a sincere submission of the said Indians to His Majesty's government while the said Acadians are suffered to continue in this province, they being connected by Inter-marriages with them and thereby maintaining a considerable Influence over them at all times.²⁶⁵

On July 26, 1762, William Nesbitt, the Speaker of the Assembly, warned Belcher that:

That being born and bred among the savages and knowing their language, and strictly connected with many of them by intermarriages and ties of Blood, as well as religion, they never fail to inculcate a spirit of dislike to the English heretics, as they term it.²⁶⁶

7.3 South Coast Settlements

7.3.1 La Have/ Mirliguesche, 1713-1760

The only significant incident concerning Mirliguesche during the years of the British Regime, prior to the establishment of Lunenburg, involved a matter of piracy. In 1726 a New England fishing vessel was boarded by individuals from Mirliguesche. The crew overpowered their captors the next day, and the ship sailed to Boston, where the five who were taken were tried for piracy and later hanged. Three of the men, James and Philippe Meuse and John Missel, were identified as "Indians," while the other two, a father and son both named Jean Baptiste Jedre (Guédry), were identified not identified as to their ethnicity.²⁶⁷ All five were residents of Mirliguesche. James and Phillippe were grandsons of the

²⁶⁴ Donovan, "Letter from Louisbourg", 122. This letter, according to an introduction by historian Ken Donovan, was one of four selections printed in *An Account of the Customs and Manners of the Mickmakis and Maricheets, Savage Nations, Now Dependent on the Government of Cape Breton* (London: 1758). The original letter, written to a friend at La Rochelle, is believed to be lost.

²⁶⁵ A-027, LAC, MG 11, CO 220, Vol. 12, 54, Reel C-1980.

²⁶⁶ A-026, LAC, MG 11, CO 217, Vol. 43, f. 57, Reel B-1036.

²⁶⁷ Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest*, 81. Plank's source, which identified the accused as either "Acadians" or "Indians," was the *Boston Gazette* of September 5, 1726 and October 10, 1726.

Sieur d'Entremont, Philippe Mius, their father being the elder d'Entremont's third son Philippe, who is identified in the 1708 census as Philippe Mieusse, and is listed as an Indian.²⁶⁸ The younger Guédry was also a grandson of Philippe II Meuse, as his father, elder Jean-Baptiste Guedry, is shown in the 1708 census to have married Philippe II Meuse's eldest daughter, Madeleine.²⁶⁹ Despite the familial relationships between the five men, two trials had to be held, one for the two Guédrys and another for the three "Indians," who were tried under different laws.²⁷⁰

The elder Jean-Baptist Guédry was the son of Claude Guédry and Marguerite Petitpas, mentioned above, and the brother of Paul Guédry, who was identified in the Port Royal parish register as having been born in 1701. Paul Guédry figures prominently in the next section, concerning the founding of Lunenburg.

7.3.2 Establishment of Lunenburg

Janet Chute uses Paul Guédry of Mirliguesche, and his wife Anne, who was also the daughter of Philippe II Mius and his Mi'kmaq wife, as examples of typical Nova Scotia "Métis" of the eighteenth century. According to Chute:

Paul Labrador had married Anne Mius, the daughter of Philippe II Mius d'Entremont dit Azy, and his first Aboriginal Consort. For most of their lives, Anne and her husband lived in a bark-roofed log dwelling, flanked by barns and other out buildings, which faced the Merliguesche shoreline. They had a few head of Cattle, some sheep and, of course, oxen. One can imagine chicken and pigs, although there is no documentary proof that these existed. There would have been a wharf to dock trading vessels. Several of Anne's and sisters and brothers [sic] had assimilated into aboriginal society upon marrying Mi'kmaq spouses. In doing so, they had jettisoned their Acadian patrilineal roots and adopted Mi'kmaq social organizational norms, yet they like the Labradors, had remained firmly attached to Roman Catholicism, and deeply respected their local missionary, Père Pierre Maillard.²⁷¹

Like the pigs and chickens, there is little concrete proof that any of this existed. Much of what Chute has written is supposition, basing Labrador's homestead on what was common for trading posts of the period. There is only one known document describing Mirliguesche in this period, which mentions the bark covered dwellings and the cattle, and that is a report written by Cornwallis in 1749, quoted below,

²⁶⁸ William Wicken, "26 August 1726", 11. Wicken states that the 1708 census lists the Indians and the "Métis" of Mirliguesche, but the census states on the first page that it lists the "françois" and "sauvage" populations. The French population of Mirliguesche is listed under La Have (LAC, MG 18, File 18).

²⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 13.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 9.

²⁷¹ Janet Chute, "A Good Day on the Aboiteau: an Ethnographic and ethnohistorical study of the Acadian-Metis of Eel Brook and Quinan Areas [sic], Municipality of Argyle, Nova Scotia" (2004), 27-28.

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which does not mention any inhabitants by name, nor does it mention how many of them there were. Also, Chute does not explain why these people are to be considered Métis. Both of Paul Guédry's parents were Acadians, with no known Mi'kmaq ancestors.²⁷²

La Have remained neglected by the British right up until the establishment of Halifax, in 1749. It was earlier proposed by Lt. Governor Paul Mascarene to place small garrisons at a number of places along the coast, including La Have, but nothing came of the proposal. That same year, 1749, Mirliguesche appears to have attracted the attention of the British for the first time. Cornwallis described his visit:

We came to anchor in Merligueche Bay where I was told there was a French Settlement. I went ashore to see the Houses and manner of living of the Inhabitants – there are but a few families with tolerable wooden houses covered with Bark, a good many Cattle and clear ground more than serves themselves. They seem to be peaceable, say they always looked upon themselves as English Subjects, have their grants from Colonel Mascarene, the Governor of Annapolis, and showed an unfeigned joy to hear of the new settlement. They assure us the Indians are quite peaceable and not at all to be feared – there are some hearabouts.²⁷³

German settlers had been recruited to establish a Protestant community within the colony, and the original intention was to establish their settlement at Musquodoboit, north of Halifax, but on September 4, 1751 Cornwallis informed the Board of Trade that relations with the “French Inhabitants” were improving, and that he did not wish to alter the situation by the presence of a Protestant settlement in the vicinity of Mines and Piziquid.:

There is a visible alteration in the behaviour of the French at Minas and Pisiqid they have this year cultivated well their land and have great crops a quantity of corn to dispose of over and above what will serve their families this will be of great Service to this Settlement at this critical juncture both as to the French Inhabitants and Indians it would be improper to send the Germans into that point of the Country. I have therefore by advise of the Council determined to place them back upon the Peninsula where they will be in security and in a short time the Peninsula will be cleared and we shall all abundantly to supply ourselves and they will be ready at all times to transplant themselves higher in the Country when opportunity offers which can't be to do any good till we are at peace with the Indians. Farmers can't live within Forts and must go in Security upon their business to make it turn to any account.²⁷⁴

Governor Hopson had given up all idea of a settlement at Musquodoboit, as not only would it upset the Acadians, but there was no good harbour there. Instead, they would be settled along the Atlantic coast, southwest of Halifax:

²⁷² Later in the report, Chute states that Guédry himself was “métis” (Chute, “A Good Day”, 52, n. 181); White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes*, 1:771-772.

²⁷³ Akins, *Selections*, 561. It is not clear what grants from Mascarene they are referring to. This description of Mirliguesche appears to be the basis for the description of the habitation of Paul Guédry used by Chute, above.

²⁷⁴ A-017, LAC, MG 11, CO 217, Vol. 13, H7, Reel B-1025.

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As everything is now in readiness I propose to send out the Foreigners in three Days. They are to go to Mirleguash a Harbor about Sixteen Leagues to the Westward from this Place, where there has been formerly a French Settlement by which means there is between three and four hundred Acres of clear land which is to be equally divided amongst the Settlers who consist of about Sixteen hundred persons. ... The surveyors and others say the situation is very advantageous and that a small Picketing would enclose a Peninsula of Three thousand acres.²⁷⁵

When Cornwallis returned to Mirliguesche in 1753 to establish the new settlement, there appeared to be only one household remaining: that of an elderly man named Labrador. With Cornwallis was a man named Deschamps, who was acting as a guide and translator. Cornwallis described Deschamps as an "Indian" with an "Acadian" father:

Deschamps alias Clovewater (the son of an Acadian by an Indian woman) behaves very faithfully, and is very useful to us. He expects (as he tells me,) that he shall get notice if ye Indians come down to disturb us, and offers, as no Frenchman ever did yet, to go with a party of our people to a proper place for cutting them off on their passage. He goes on shore & comes on board when he pleases, and sleeps, sometimes with his uncle Labrador, & sometimes on board ye Albany. His whole behaviour seems to be without disguise INsomuch that I could wish he were indulged in a request that He makes of a spot of garden ground for his family. For—I think I am certain of his being both capable & willing to render some services to ye settlement.²⁷⁶

What complicates matters is that it is unclear who "Labrador" was. According to Janet Chute, "Labrador" was Paul Guédry. Why he was called Labrador, however, remains unclear. Chute explains that the word itself has Portuguese origins (*Lavrador* means farmer, and Joao Fernandes a lavrador was an explorer whose occupation was attached to the lands he discovered), and Guédry is not known to have had any Portuguese connections. Chute claims that it was simply a corruption of one of Paul Guédry's nicknames. Actually, there is some discrepancy as to what the family nickname actually was. Chute states that it was Lavadure Guédry *dit* Labrador (or Lavadure) while Stephen White claims that it was *dit* Laverdure, which is similar to the title of Germain Doucet, Sieur de la Verdure.²⁷⁷

There is evidence that suggests that "Labrador" was indeed Paul Guédry. Paul Guédry was born in Mirliguesche, and his great-grandfather was Bernard Bugaret who, as mentioned earlier, had received the original grant from the King of France for Mirliguesche that Jacques L'Hermite wrote about in 1716.²⁷⁸ Furthermore, after the expulsion of the Acadians and the wars against the Indians, Labrador's

²⁷⁵ A-018, LAC, MG 11, CO 217, Vol. 14, H185, Fols. 160-161, Reel B-1026.

²⁷⁶ Charles Lawrence, "Journal and Letters of Colonel Charles Lawrence," in *Bulletin of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia* 10 (1953): 18

²⁷⁷ Chute, "A Good Day" 27; White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes*, Vol. 2, 770.

²⁷⁸ White, *English Supplement*, 66.

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farm was awarded to Captain Sutherland, who commanded the Lunenburg garrison. It is identified on a 1753 map as "Labradore's farm."²⁷⁹

Then there is the matter of the returning Acadians. On August 24, 1754, a letter from Cotterell, the Secretary of the colony, to Col. Sutherland, commander of the garrison at Lunenburg, informed him that twenty five persons had arrived from Lunenburg, "where they made their escape to avoid starving." The author adds that these people were all "nearly related" to "Old Labrador," and had taken oaths.²⁸⁰

According to the letter, the names of the men were Paul Boutin, Julian [Bourneuf?], Charles Boutin, Francois Lucas, Sebastien [Bourneuf?], Joseph Gidri, Pierre Gidri, Pierre [illegible] and Claude [illegible]. Paul Boutin, according to Stephen White, was the son of Joseph Boutin and Marie-Marguerite Lejeune *dit* Briard. He was married to Ursule (Paul Guédry's niece). Charles Boutin, Paul Boutin's brother, was married to Marie-Joseph Guédry (Paul Guédry's daughter). Joseph Guédry (or Gidri) was the son of Jean-Baptiste, who was hung at Boston in 1726. This made him Paul Guédry's nephew. Pierre Guédry was his brother.²⁸¹ White has no record for the other men who are named in the letter. For François Lucas, White records only one Lucas: Charles Lucas, Sieur de la Hongrie, who was in Acadia around 1700, although nothing is known about a spouse or children.²⁸²

Also, in a petition to the Governor of Massachusetts several years later, in 1760, Paul Guédry's nephew Joseph did sign his name as "Joseph Labrador."²⁸³ This appears to be further proof that Paul Guédry was indeed the "Labrador" mentioned in Lawrence's journal and Cotterell's letter, quoted above.

In "A Good Day on the Aboiteau," Janet Chute refers to these returnees as "metis," and declares that their absence from the community was due to the fact that male residents of the community being absent on trading ventures on Ile Royale and elsewhere. "Some of the younger generation established their own trading posts," she writes, "and so remained away for many years. When rumours of war between France and England began circulating in 1754, however, metis families returned, claiming at Halifax that they were 'nearly [all] related to Labrador.'"²⁸⁴ Chute does not reveal the sources she used for this assertion, and the surviving evidence tells a different story.

Charles Lawrence, in an August 29, 1754 postscript to an August 1, 1754, letter to the Lords of Trade, mentioned the arrival of these individuals:

²⁷⁹ Chute, "A Good Day on the Aboiteau", 52n; G-004, NMC 18407.

²⁸⁰ C-010, PANS, RG 1, Vol. 134, No. 212.

²⁸¹ White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes*, 1:264-265, 773-774.

²⁸² *Ibid*, 2:1109.

²⁸³ Clarence-Joseph Entremont, *Histoire de Cap Sable* (Eunice, NS : 1981), 4 :1855.

²⁸⁴ Chute, "A Good Day on the Aboiteau", 40.

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As the greatest part of these persons were Inhabitants of this Country and had been persuaded to abandon it at our first Settling here, and were likewise very nearly related to or intermarried with many of the French families now here, I thought it would be worth while to accept them if they would take the oaths without reserve.²⁸⁵

Their applications were discussed at a meeting of the Executive Council on October 9, 1754. The president of the Council, Charles Morris, made no reference to any individuals of mixed-ancestry among those returning, and he noted that they had left the area not to trade, but simply out of fear:

The Heads of the said families being called in, and asked the reason of their quitting their Lands, They declared that upon first settling of the English in Halifax, they were so terrified by the Threats that Mr. Le Loutre had used, and his declaring the great distresses they would be reduced to if they remained under the dominion of the English That they, on that account, had retired and were set down on the Island of Cape Breton, where they had remained ever since, but that the Land there being so very bad they were utterly incapable of subsisting their Families, and had applied to the governor of Louisbourg for Leave to return to their former Habitations, to which he had consented.²⁸⁶

They offered, Lawrence added, to take the oath of allegiance in return for their former lands. Lawrence suggested that the Council accept their offer for the good effect it would have on the German colonists, some of whom were defecting to the French, and on the French inhabitants themselves. "The said inhabitants then very cheerfully took the Oath of Allegiance to His Majesty, Appointed to be taken by the French Inhabitants." Most of them would also be provisioned through the winter, to help them re-establish themselves. Four of them, however, asked for provisions for a week, to help them return to Piziquid, where they had originally come from.²⁸⁷

There is some confusion surrounding these Acadians who returned from Cape Breton. In *The Foreign Protestants and the Settlement of Nova Scotia*, Winthrop Packard Bell examined the evidence quoted above: Lawrence and Cotterell's August, 1754 letters, and the October 1754 Council Minutes, and he concluded that there were two separate groups of refugees.²⁸⁸ In fact, it is unclear whether or not there actually were two separate groups. The numbers in each document are slightly different: Cotterell mentions 25 persons, and lists nine individuals, presumably the adult males. Lawrence, in his August 29, 1754 postscript, counted "eight French Inhabitants of that Island, four of which had families with them, the whole number amounted to twenty five persons." The Council Minutes of October 9, 1754, however, listed 28 individuals. It is not clear that there really were two groups, or if someone had

²⁸⁵ A-020, LAC, Series CO 217, Vol. 15, H. 256, ff. 94-95, Reel B-1026.

²⁸⁶ A-013, LAC, MG 11, CO 220, Vol. 3, Reel H-1979, 117-118.

²⁸⁷ A-014, LAC, MG 11, CO 220, Vol. 3, Reel H-1979, 119.

²⁸⁸ Winthrop Packard Bell, *The Foreign Protestants and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* (Toronto: 1961), 483-484.

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simply miscounted, or the original 25 were joined by three others. Certainly the October 9, 1754, Council minutes make no mention of a previous group.²⁸⁹

Bell refers to these people as “half-breeds, or *métis*” but none of the documents he quotes (which were also used above) used these words, or made any reference at all regarding individuals of mixed-ancestry.²⁹⁰ Lawrence’s journal does not state who Labrador was, or even if he was Indian or non-Indian. It is only known, as Lawrence stated, that Labrador’s nephew Deschamps was of mixed-ancestry, and that the settlers felt confident that because Labrador continued to live amongst him, it was a sign that an Indian attack was not forthcoming.²⁹¹

While Janet Chute accepts it as a fact that Labrador was Paul Guédry, Father Clarence-Joseph Entremont, in his history of Cape Sable, was just as convinced that he could not have been. On October 20, 1747, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts issued a proclamation stating that Le Loutre and a number of others were considered to be outlaws, and he offered rewards for them. Entremont notes that one of them was Paul Guédry, and he fled Nova Scotia forthwith for Cape Breton, establishing himself in Baie d’Espagnolle (the present day Sydney Harbour), where he is listed in censuses in 1749 and 1752.²⁹² Research undertaken for this report was able to locate a copy of Shirley’s proclamation, which unfortunately, had only a blank space where the names were to be written. The 1747-1748 journal of Hocquart, the Intendant of New France, lists the names that were included in the proclamation, but he stated that one of those outlawed in Nova Scotia was Pierre Guédry, not Paul.²⁹³

It is known that Paul Guédry’s family was in Cape Breton in 1754, however, due to a scandalous event that was reported back to France. An officer of the garrison of Louisbourg, Sieur Bogard de la Noue, secretly married Marguerite Guédry, Paul’s daughter, contrary to orders given to him by his superior, who had permitted Bogard’s journey to Baie d’Espagnolle only after extracting a promise that he would not marry. The garrison’s commander noted that the marriage violated the King of France’s regulations concerning the conduct of his officers, but he did not specify what exactly those regulations were. He did note, however, that Marguerite Guédry was “*metise-sauvage*” through her mother, whom he still referred to as the “*noble dame Anne d’Entremont*.” It was stated that both Paul and Anne were

²⁸⁹ According to Stephen White, in the *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes*, those identified in Cotterell’s letter to Sutherland were deported to the American colonies. As for Labrador’s nephew “Deschamps,” a website for the Guédry-Labine families in the United states identifies him as Jean Guédry, the son of Pierre Guédry and Marguerite Brasseau, which would have made him Paul’s nephew. Earlier he had had to flee Mirliguesche to avoid the Mi’kmaq, who were angered because he had cooperated with the British. Les Guidry d’Asteur, The Guédry-Labine Family, 2002, <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~guedrylabinefamily/history.html>, Viewed January 26, 2005.

²⁹⁰ Bell, *Foreign Protestants*, p. 404.

²⁹¹ Charles Lawrence’s journal, quoted in *Bulletin of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia*, No. 10 (1953): 7, 18. The journal was found in transcription form in the Andrew Brown Collection. The original journal is believed to be lost.

²⁹² Entremont, *Histoire de Cap Sable*, 4:1854. A copy of Shirley’s proclamation was found in: A-015, LAC, MG 11, Series CO 5, Vol. 901, Reel B-6131. It is not clear what authority the Governor of Massachusetts would have to issue proclamations in Nova Scotia.

²⁹³ LAC, MG 1, Series CHA, Vol. 87, f. 197v, Reel F-87.

residents of St. Croix parish, Baie d'Espagnolle.²⁹⁴ On July 1, 1754, the Minister wrote officials at the fort, M. de Drucot et M. Prévost, stating that the King had approved the sending of the de la Noue back to France, and the commander's suggestion that the Guédry family be sent to Canada.²⁹⁵ It would have been impossible to have the Guédry's sent to Canada if they were not within the French jurisdiction, e.g. Cape Breton Island, in the first place. It is exactly at this time that Deschamps is staying with his uncle in Mirliguesche, and that the returning Acadians are sent to Lunenburg because they claim to be related to Labrador as well, who, it is assumed, was in Mirliguesche at the same time as the del Noue affair was taking place in Cape Breton.

If Paul Guédry was not Labrador, it is unclear who was. Clarence-Joseph Entremont struggled with the matter in his history of Cape Sable, but came to no conclusion. Whoever Labrador was, Entremont seemed to believe that the person was Mi'kmaq, or at least part-Mi'kmaq, and was a fairly recent arrival to the area:

Les Labrador, s'ils furent tout d'abord métis, se sont intégrés B la nation micmaque. Ils ne font leur apparition aux registres civils ou ecclésiastiques qu'après l'Expulsion. Dans les registres de l'abbé Bailly, on n'en trouve qu'un seul, du nom de Philippe Labrador, marié B Marie Bisk8ne, tous deux dits mikmaks [emphasis in the original], qui le 23 décembre 1770 firent baptiser B Halifax un fils du nom de François Noël. Depuis lors, et encore aujourd'hui, les Amérindiens qui portent le nom de Labrador sont assez nombreux, surtout sur la Côte-de-l'Est, B partir du Cap-Sable jusqu'B Halifax. On en trouve également au Cap-Breton. Les registres de Saint-Anne-du-Ruisseau du PIIre Sigogne, qui font mention de certain d'entre eux, donnent mAme François Noël Labrador marié B Anna Labrador, qui le premier juillet 1832 font baptiser un enfant du mAme nom, François Noël, âgé de huit mois.²⁹⁶

As for "Deschamps," Paul's nephew Jean was known to call himself Jean Labrador, but he was not known to use the name "Deschamps" or "Clovewater." Entremont names some possibilities, but again he can come to no firm conclusion.

Chute insists, however, that Paul Guédry was "Labrador, and that he left Mirliguesche to join the Indians on raids. Some of his descendants can be found among the Mi'kmaq, as he was unable to get his former property back after the war. Chute later writes that:

²⁹⁴ B-009, LAC, MG 1, Series F3, Vol. 50, Reel C-11356, 350-351, 354.

²⁹⁵ C-009, LAC, MG 1, Series B, Vol. 99, ff. 26-27, Reel F-302.

²⁹⁶ Entremont, *Histoire de Cap Sable*, 4:1856. Translation: "The Labradors, if they were from the very first half-bred, have not strayed from the Micmac nation. They only make their appearance in the civil or church registers after the Expulsion. In the registers of the Abbé Bailly we find only one, of the name of Philippe Labrador, married to Marie Bisk8ne, both called mikmaks, who the 23rd of December 1770 had baptized at Halifax a son by the name of François Noël. Since then, and even today, the Indians who carry the name of Labrador are rather numerous, chiefly on the East Coast, from Cap-Sable as far as Halifax. We find them also at Cap-Breton. The registers of Saint-Anne-du-Ruisseau of Père Sigogne, who makes mention of certain among them, give even François Noël Labrador married to Anna Labrador, who the first of July 1832 had baptized a child of the same name, François Noël, age of eight months."

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Losing their land meant the Labradors had to make concessions to Mi'kmaq organizational norms, which differed from the patrilineal focus of Acadian society. This they did with poor grace, and so for many years were still regarded as metis by the Mi'kmaq, though branded as "Mi'kmaq" by the British authorities. Labrador genealogies, for example, exhibit cousin marriage, which is practically taboo among the Mi'kmaq, but a frequent occurrence among the Acadians. In Acadian society, rights and statuses normally proceeded down the male line. One might marry a cousin of the opposite sex, as long as that cousin did not belong to a "specified lineage segment," often designated by a nickname.²⁹⁷

Assuming that Labrador was Guédry, it is not clear how Chute knows that the Mi'kmaq regarded them as Métis, and not simply as Acadians.

Up until 1756 Lunenburg had been immune from disturbance. Some authorities believed that the Mi'kmaq were behind the attacks, but others believed that they were being carried out by the Acadians from Cape Sable who had gone into the woods to avoid expulsion.²⁹⁸ H.L. D'Entremont, in *Barronie de Pombcoup*, estimated the number to be about 30 families, most of who had gone to Cape Sable from Annapolis Royal to escape the expulsions.²⁹⁹ On December 26, 1758, Lawrence reported to the Board of Trade that "The Indians still attacking Lunenburg and have killed a family and so bloody and barbarous a manner as to terrify and drive three fourths of the people from their country lots." The following summer he reported that the Indians had committed new murders, and that, along with the loss of their root crops, had discouraged the settlers. Five soldiers had also been murdered and scalped. Lawrence admitted that the colony could not feed itself, and needed to be supplied if the colonists were to survive.³⁰⁰

Meanwhile, some new settlement in the area was taking place. On September 20, 1759, in a letter to the Lords of Trade, Lawrence discussed the resettling of the southwest coast. The new settlers at La

²⁹⁷ Chute, "A Good Day", 28. According to Chute, a "lineage segment was (and still is) designated "by referring to a person's father, grandfather and great-grandfather; for example, as "Jean-Baptist Surette a Joseph a Paul a Pierre." A nickname might also be ascribed to an ancestor, and then passed down for three generations. This served to define an agnatically-related group which was virtually exogamous." At Quinan, for example, a man of the "Miuse a Gaspereau" family could not marry a woman of the same group. A "Miuse a Hat" or Miuse a Perdix" woman would be a more fitting spouse (Chute, "A Good Day", 28-29).

²⁹⁸ A-024, LAC, MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 17, K.2, ff. 1-3, Reel B-1027. Lawrence told the Lords of Trade in this letter, dated November 3, 1759, that he had recently captured 151 inhabitants (56 men, 46 women and 49 children), who, "after being very mischievous to us, Surrendered. In a June 30, 1858 letter to James Wolfe, published in the *Northcliffe Collection* – which contains the papers of Col. Robert Monckton – Lawrence states that action had been taken against the "French Inhabitants" of Cape Sable, "from which frequent attacks were made on Lunenburg" (*Northcliffe Collection*, 70).

²⁹⁹ H. Leander D'Entremont. *The Baronnies de Pombcoup and the Acadians: A History of the Ancient "Department of Cape Sable," now known as Yarmouth and Shelburne Counties* (Yarmouth: 1931), 39.

³⁰⁰ LAC, MG 11, CO 217, Vol. 16, L.85, L. 91., Reel B-1027.

Have were fishers from Plymouth, as and the new settlers arriving at Cape Sable were fishers as well.³⁰¹

It is unclear what happened to the Acadian families who lived there. According to Steven White, many of them ended up in the American colonies (see the section on the founding of Lunenburg, above), being caught in the general expulsions, although the details of the expulsions in Lunenburg are unclear. A Catalogue of the families of St. Mary's Bay Roman Catholic Parish, Clare, Digby County, Nova Scotia, compiled by Father Jean-Mandé Sigogne (1763-1844), the first resident parish priest of St. Mary's Bay, included a list of 78 Indian heads of families. Among those listed are Jos. Briard of Annapolis and Jean-Baptiste Briard of La Have.³⁰² Stephen White's genealogical dictionary, however, does not state that any descendants of either Pierre or Martin ever joined Indian bands. White does note that many of the descendants of Pierre Lejeune *dit* Briard settled on Ile St. Jean (Prince Edward Island), where all trace was lost of them at the time of the expulsions. White believes that they were on one of the two transports sailing to England that were lost at sea.³⁰³

7.3.3 Chebogue

In 1740 the Executive council received a petition from eight Acadian families at Annapolis Royal who wished to winter at Chebogue Point in present-day Yarmouth County. The families had left before permission had been granted, and were called back. Finally they were granted permission to stay one season only, and they were to fowl and fish only, and were not permitted to dyke any land. In 1748, however, Le Loutre reported that there were 25 French families there.³⁰⁴ Andrew Hill Clark believes this to be another example of the Acadian habit of disregarding unenforceable orders.³⁰⁵ The spokesman for the eight families was Joseph Landry, who would, in 1759, petition the Governor of Massachusetts on behalf of the Acadians at Cape Sable.³⁰⁶ Nothing else was found concerning this settlement, and there was no mention of individuals of mixed-ancestry.

7.4 Expulsion of the Acadians, 1755-1763

³⁰¹ September 20, 1759. Canada, *Report on Canadian Archives, 1894* (Ottawa: 1895), 218.

³⁰² *St. Mary's Bay, 1818-1829: Catalogue of Families, St. Mary's Bay Roman Catholic Parish, Clare, Digby County, Nova Scotia* (Clearwater, Florida: c1975), 124-125. Father Clarence D'Entremont, who transcribed the handwritten document, noted that the list may not be part of the original work, but may instead have been loose sheets that were simply inserted into the main work.

³⁰³ White, *English Supplement*, 227.

³⁰⁴ E-002, LAC, MG 1, Series CHA, Vol. 87, Fol. 364v, Reel F-87.

³⁰⁵ Clark, *Acadia: The Geography*, 223.

³⁰⁶ A-007 to A-012, A-035, LAC, MG 11, CO 220, Vol. 1, Reel H-1979, 188-222.

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Beginning in 1755, the British began to expel the Acadian population of the colony. A number of reasons have been given over the years for the expulsions: the Acadians would not take loyalty oaths to the British Government; the Acadians were assisting the Indians in their raids on British Garrisons; some historians even suggest that the British, particularly the new Englanders, coveted their lands. Lawrence himself, in a letter to the Lords of Trade dated October 18, 1755, stated that the expulsion would provide good lands for settlers, deprive the Indians of supplies and intelligence, and "destroy the hopes of the French of possessing a Province which they regard as already peopled for them."³⁰⁷ While the expulsions are beyond the scope of this paper, it should be noted that the Acadian population, which is estimated to have been as high as 12,000 people, was reduced to about 1,000 by 1761. Many Acadians were deported to other British Colonies, and many were sent overseas to Britain and France. Others retreated deeper into French territory settling along the St. John River or at Restigouche; some even going as far as Québec. Still others remained in Acadia, living in the woods and, it was believed, fighting alongside the Indians.³⁰⁸ The numbers of these, however, are not clear.

Placide Gaudet quoted Justice Belcher's figure of 8,000 inhabitants in peninsular Nova Scotia prior to the expulsions, but Gaudet believed that the figure was closer to 10,000. The others took flight into the woods or made their way to the Mirimachi. Quebec received over 1,500, and these, combined with those who migrated there after exile in New England, meant that at the time Gaudet was writing (1905), there were more descendants of Acadians in Quebec than in the Maritimes.³⁰⁹

The expulsions lasted into the 1760s. Although the colonial government in Nova Scotia was keen on continuing the policy, and expelling the remaining Acadians, most of whom were prisoners being held at the forts or major towns such as Halifax, external events forced its hand. There were complaints in London concerning the humanity of the exercise, and there were similar complaints from many of the American Colonies, where it had been intended to settle them. Many other American colonies did not wish to see large numbers of Catholic immigrants settling among them, and instead of accepting them they simply gave the Acadians supplies and turned them around to Nova Scotia. An Order-in-Council passed in London on July 11, 1764, ordered, "that the Acadians be permitted to become settlers under His Majesty's Government ... upon taking the Oath of Allegiance."³¹⁰

Many Acadians, however, never left Nova Scotia, and continued to fight against the British from hiding places deep within the forests. Unfortunately, these Acadians left few records. Isaiah Wilson, in a history of Digby County written in the late 19th century, states that according to local traditions people living at Port Royal in 1755 escaped into the woods when British transports sailed up the Annapolis River, and passed a roaming unsettled life for some years, while the Mi'kmaq aided them as far as possible. They eventually reached the southeast shore of St. Mary's Bay. In his history of Digby County, Wilson stated that among these were Antoine Guedry and his brother-in-law, Oliver

³⁰⁷ LAC, MG 11, CO 217, Vol. 15, H.311, Reel B-1027.

³⁰⁸ Charles Lawrence to the Lords of Trade, A-022, LAC, MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 16, I.22, ff. 71-72, Reel B-1027.

³⁰⁹ Gaudet, *Archives ... 1905*, 2:xv.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2:210-211.

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Robichaud. He was unable, however, to find the names of any others. Wilson made no mention about any individuals of mixed-ancestry among these Acadians.³¹¹

A list of the names does appear to have existed at one time. John Knox, the British officer who in his history of the military campaigns in North America, was at Port Royal in December 1757. He noted that:

Upon finding the enemy still numerous in Nova Scotia, for I always apprehended they, or the greatest part of them, had been seized and sent out of the province, I was naturally induced to make some inquiries on that subject; and the only information I could receive was, that forty-eight families, who formerly resided, and were well settled on this river [the Annapolis River] had retired with their effects into the mountains, and other inaccessible places, to wait the event of the war; they were generally reputed neutrals and were assured, that, if they would take the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, and swear neither to assist, traffic, nor correspond with the French, their allies, or the subjects of France in Canada, they should not be molested; but this they obstinately declined, whereupon, fearing compulsion might be used, or rigorous measures taken with them, they thought it safest to withdraw; and now, in order to procure a livelihood, they are obliged to have recourse to robbing and plundering, and the Governor-General of Canada has taken them under his protection, by placing an Officer among them, supplying them with arms and ammunition, and rewarding them for scalps and prisoners. What number of fighting men they had among those families, or in any other part of the province, I could never learn for certain; but have procured a return of the men, women and children that were shipped off to the continent, on the breaking out of this war ... I also obtained the names of the fugitives, or those who had retired; but I decline inserting them, as they are of no consequence.³¹²

Research has been unable to locate the list that Knox mentioned. The number of Acadians that took to the woods is unclear. The minutes of a council meeting held at Halifax on April 14, 1761, however, lists the number of Acadians that were believed to still be in the province:

Ristigush, Miramichi:	220 families, or 1,300 persons;
Chignecto	60 families, or 240 persons;
Halifax	90 families or 445 persons. ³¹³

The difficulty of determining the identities or the number of Acadians who fought on and evaded deportation is that if the individual were successful, there would be no official record. The identities of even those who were captured do not appear to have been recorded, and if they were, the records are no longer extant. Furthermore, Lunenburg was the only location within the study area which the

³¹¹ Wilson, *A Geography*, 28.

³¹² Knox, *Historical Journal*, 1:114. Knox includes a chart noting that 1,664 people had been expelled from the colony, but Knox's numbers are for Annapolis Royal only. Knox also notes that many of those expelled found ways to escape, and had joined the fugitives in the mountains (115).

³¹³ A-034, LAC, MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia "B" Series, Vol. 10, Reel H-1980, pp. 169-170.

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British permanently occupied and garrisoned. There was no other military presence within the area except for brief incursions in 1756, 1758, and 1759, which will be discussed in the section below.

7.4 The Expulsions in Cape Sable

On April 9, 1756, Lawrence ordered Major Prebble to take a detachment of troops to Cape Sable to remove the inhabitants and destroy their property. Prebble arrived at Port Latour on April 21, 1756, while most of the men were out fishing, and took 72 prisoners, mostly women and children. He burned 44 houses. Local tradition states that the men returned later to find their families removed.³¹⁴

The inhabitants who remained in Cape Sable, in order to avoid their own expulsion, appealed to Governor Pownall of Massachusetts for assistance. Signed by Joseph Landry of Cape Sable, the petition is noteworthy as Landry claimed to be writing on behalf of both the Acadians and the “Savages” of the area, and the petition is careful in distinguishing between the two. There is no mention in the petition of intermarriage between the two groups, or of a mixed-ancestry population:

And we will assure your Ex L. & Worthy Counl. That we are heartily willing to do whatever you require of us as far as we are able to perform We are also willing to pay to Your Excly's Govt. our yearly taxes; we are also willing to Support & Maintain [emphasis in original] the war against the King of France as long as we live. And if ever any damage should be done her on our territories by the Savages, it shall be required of our hands. We are in all about 40 families which consist of about 150 souls. The Savages that live between here & Halifax do not exceed 20 men, and they are also willing to come under the same Govt. with us, and to pay their yearly taxes to Your Excly's Govt.. And if we shall be so fortunate as to obtain so much friendship with your Excy's., as to be received into Excly's Govt., we will send on two men with a list of all our names and the Savages will send in two likewise wit a list of their names, and we all submit to do whatever you require of us. And if any others should desert from elsewhere, Savages or French, and come to us we will not receive them ...³¹⁵

The petition concludes by requesting that if they are not allowed to remain on their lands in Nova Scotia, that they be sent to New England, “for we had all rather die here than to go to any other French Dominion to live.”³¹⁶

On August 24, 1758, Colonel Jeffrey Amherst noted in a letter to Col. Monckton that soldiers had been ordered to proceed to the Bay of Fundy, in order to eliminate enemy settlements on the St. John River and the Bay of Fundy. Monckton himself was to take two hundred soldiers from Otway's regiment, as well as his own regiment, and Gorham's rangers, under the command of Major Morris, and to land at Cape Sable. The mission assigned to Charles Morris was to “take or destroy the People of that part,

³¹⁴ LAC, MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 16, I. 16, Reel B-1027; Arsenault, *Histoire et Généalogie des Acadiens*, 1:214.

³¹⁵ C-012, LAC, MG 21, Add. MSS 19073, ff. 59-60. Joseph Landry, initially of Annapolis Royal, was the spokesman of the Acadians who applied to be allowed to relocate to Chebogue in 1740.

³¹⁶ C-012, LAC, MG 21, Add. MSS 19073, ff. 59-60.

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who infest the settlements at Lunenburg, and to clear that Country of that nest of Indians.” Furthermore, the garrison of Annapolis was to cut the line of retreat of any who attempted to flee the soldiers.³¹⁷

After it had been concluded, Amherst himself had misgivings regarding the conduct of the campaign. On May 29, 1759, he wrote to Lawrence discussing the removal of the settlers from Cape Sable, and while he was pleased that the rebels had been rooted out, and that “some industrious farmers are established there in their places, he was disappointed with the actions of one Lieutenant Hansen [Hazen?], “who has sullied his merit with me, as I shall always disapprove of killing women and helpless children.” While Amherst does not elaborate, H. Leander d’Entremont, in his book *The Baronnie de Pombcoup and the Acadians*, states that an officer, who he calls Hazen, murdered the child of Joseph D’Entremont, and scalped him.³¹⁸

On November 3, 1759 Lawrence wrote William Pitt that:

In the beginning of last Spring, part of the French inhabitants at Cape Sable, who had done as much mischief finding themselves distressed, Deputed some from amongst them, to come with offers of surrender, to be disposed of at his Majesty’s pleasure; Accordingly, I dispatched as early as I could, the province Armed Vessels [sic] to Cape Sable, where thy took on board 152 persons, Men Women and Children; and when they arrived here I ordered them to be landed on George’s Island, as being a place of most security. In my application to Adml. Saunders He ordered an empty transport to call in here, on board of which are embarked (some having died here) 150 persons as by the enclosed return, to proceed to Engl., under Convoy of his Majesty’s ship Sutherland, and there receive such orders as your Excellency shall judge proper.³¹⁹

There is no mention of any mixed-ancestry population in any of the documents concerned with the expulsion of the Acadians of Cape Sable. In a handwritten note following the transcription of Amherst’s letter, however, Andrew Brown, in the 1790s, noted that, “Even women and helpless children butchered in Nova Scotia – relating to the Cape Sable Planters. The wild, the gay, the sportive D’Entremonds with their Indian blood...So the poor Pobomcoups were sent to England.” This

³¹⁷ C-011, LAC, MG 21, Add. MSS 19073, ff. 56-57.

³¹⁸ H. Leander D’Entremont, *Baronnie de Pombcoup*, 38. Bona Arsenault, in his history of the Acadians, catalogued the horrors that had been unleashed upon the inhabitants of Cape Sable, quoting the Rev. Hugh Graham, one of Andrew Brown’s correspondents, as evidence. According to Arsenault, Lawrence had informed the Board of Trade that he was offering rewards for prisoners and scalps, in order to rout the Acadians and Indians, and Graham complained to Brown in 1791 that he had come across many cases in which Acadians had been killed by rangers, and had had their scalps passed off to the British authorities as those of Indians. Graham was then told by officials that although the scalps were unlikely to be Indians, according to the law there were supposed to be no more French in Nova Scotia, so that anyone killed by the rangers was considered to have been an Indian (Arsenault, *History of the Acadians*, 162-163). Arsenault, however, did not quote Graham correctly for Graham had told Brown at the beginning of his statement that he had witnessed the events he described near Fort Cumberland (the former Fort Beausejour, near Beaubassin in the Isthmus of Chignecto), and not at Cape Sable (MG 21, Add MSS 19071, Fol. 243, Reel C-11964). As to the scalping of the child of Joseph d’Entremont at Pobomcoup, it is not clear why this was done.

³¹⁹ C-014, LAC, MG 21, Add. MSS. 19073, f. 63.

comment suggests that the Mi'kmaq ancestry of many of the d'Entremonts was no secret in Nova Scotia, and that this "Indian Blood" did not remove oneself from being French in the eyes of the British as Indians were not deported.³²⁰

7.6 British Relations with the Mi'kmaq

The British remained in a state of war with the Indians from 1714 until 1725, and again from 1744 until 1760. The Indians received supplies from Canada, and the missionaries operating in British territory, who were allowed to be there under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, were in many cases openly directing Indian military operations, and coordinating them with French manoeuvres. The most notable of the missionaries in this respect was Father Gaulin in the period just after the British conquest, and Abbé Le Loutre, Abbé Maillard and Father Jean Manach in the period after the 1740s.³²¹

After much fighting in the first years of the 1720s, which included a raid on Annapolis Royal in 1725, the Mi'kmaq sent delegates to Boston, where a peace treaty was signed on December 15, 1725. This treaty included the Indians of what would become Maine, New Brunswick, New Hampshire, as well as Nova Scotia (the Mi'kmaq, Maliseet, Abenaki and Passamaquoddy). All the tribes agreed to "forbear all acts of Hostility, Injuries and discords towards all the Subjects of the Crown of Great Britain and not offer the least hurt, violence, or molestation of then or any of them in their persons or Estates."³²² As for the Indians of Nova Scotia:

And further we the aforementioned Delegates do promise and engage with the Honourable Lawrence Armstrong; Lieutenant Governour and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia or Acadie to live in peace with His Majesty's Good Subjects and their Dependants in the Government according to the Articles agreed on with Major Paul Makarene [sic] commissioned for that purpose and further to be Ratified as mentioned in the said Articles.³²³

Furthermore, the Indians were to recognize the British claim to Acadia:

Whereas His Majesty King George by concession of the Most Christian King, made at the Treaty of Utrecht, is become the rightful possessor of the Province of Nova Scotia or Acadia according to its ancient boundaries: We, the said Sanquaaram alias Loron Arexus, Francois Xavier and Meganumbe, delegates from the said tribes of Penobscott, Naridgwack, St. Johns, Cape Sables and other tribes inhabiting within His Majesty's said territories of Nova Scotia or Acadia and New England, do, in the name and behalf of the said tribes we represent, acknowledge His said Majesty King George's

³²⁰ C-014, LAC, MG 21, Add. MSS. Vol. 19073, f. 63.

³²¹ *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 2:238; 3:415-419, 424-426; 4:453-458.

³²² W.E. Dougherty, *Maritime Treaties in Historical Perspective* (Ottawa : 1983), 36-37.

³²³ Peace and Friendship Treaty of 1725, quoted in Dougherty, *Maritime Treaties*, 37.

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jurisdiction and dominion over the territories of the said Province of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and make our submission to His said Majesty in as ample a manner as we have formerly done to the Most Christian King.³²⁴

The Treaty was ratified by the “St. Johns, Cape Sables and other tribes of Indians and inhabiting within this His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia or Acadia” at Annapolis Royal on May 13, 1728.³²⁵ The French attempted to persuade the Indians to resume the war against the British, but the peace held until 1744, when a French and Indian expedition, led by Du Vivier, invaded the British territory and even laid siege to Annapolis Royal, before they withdrew. Another even stronger force attacked Port Royal the following year, but withdrew to defend Louisbourg, arriving too late to prevent its capture by a New England army.³²⁶

While the French forces had been pushed back, the Indians continued to attack British settlements and outposts. Beauharnois and Hocquart, the Governor and Intendant, respectively, of New France, informed their minister in 1745 that the Indians controlled the Atlantic Coast of Nova Scotia, keeping the British out:

The English do not dry any fish on the east coast of Acadia since the war, through fear of being surprised there and killed by the Micmacs. These Indians rove along the coast from spring to autumn in search of a livelihood. Lately, a boat belonging to an English merchantman having landed at La Hève for wood and water, these Indians killed 7 of the crew and brought their scalps to Sieur Marin; they can be depended upon to pursue the same course as long as means will be found to furnish them with arms, powder and ball.³²⁷

Prior to 1749 the British were confined to a small garrison at Port Royal, and a seasonal fishing station at Canso. After that date, the situation changed when the British established Halifax at Chebucto Bay, north east of La Have.

While fighting between the British and French ended in Europe, it continued in Acadia. Halifax was attacked regularly, as were the German settlers at Lunenburg. A treaty was negotiated in 1752 with one of the Mi'kmaq leaders, Major Jean-Baptiste Cope of the Shubenacadie Band, who argued that the Indians should be paid for land settled by the British. The Treaty was confirmed, but French opposition to the treaty was fierce. Cope himself renounced the treaty after Indians had been killed by New Englanders looking for scalps.³²⁸ The fall of Fort Beausejour, near Beaubassin, in 1755 removed French troops from operations in the peninsula, but the expulsion of the Acadians, which began the

³²⁴ *Ibid*, 38.

³²⁵ Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists*, 43-44.

³²⁶ Arsenault, *Histoire et Généalogie des Acadiens*, 1:137-139.

³²⁷ O'Callaghan, *Documents*, 10:11.

³²⁸ Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists*, 45.

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same year, brought many Acadians who had passively supported the Indians into open rebellion, attempting to remain in Nova Scotia.³²⁹

War continued to rage through the colony for several years, and the British were confined to their garrisons. John Knox, a British military officer, reflected on the change in status since he had been an officer of the Port Royal garrison in 1757:

In the year 1757 we were said to be the masters of the province of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, which, however, was only an imaginary possession. It is true we had a settlement in Chebucto Harbour, namely, Halifax, a garrison at Annapolis Royal, and at Chiquecto, called Fort Cumberland, and three other insignificant stockaded entrenchments, Fort Sackville, Lunenburg and Fort Edwards, all in the southern peninsula, but the troops and inhabitants of those places could not be reputed in any other light than as prisoners, the French being possessed of the north and north-east with all the interior parts of it, considerably above three-fourths of the whole, together with its islands of which the principal are Cape Breton at St. John's.³³⁰

Lawrence, meanwhile, complained that many of the colonization schemes that he had proposed were falling by the wayside as the colony was simply too dangerous to settle. In a letter to the Lords of Trade, dated November 3, 1756, he admitted that there was little immigration into the province:

But my Lords what scheme can I propose or what terms of encouragement can be granted that will induce Hardy and Industrious Settlers to plant themselves in a frontier Country, liable to have their throats cut every moment by the most inveterate Enemies, well acquainted with every Creek and Corner of the Country by which they can make their Escape after the Commission of any Act of Barbarity that Revenge and Cruelty will prompt them to?³³¹

He noted that "Acadians" and "Indians" were lurking on the roads, killing and scalping whoever passed by. The only hope for the colony, he stated, was the arrival of troops from Ireland who were to be sent there.³³²

The tide turned against the Indians, however with the fall of Louisbourg in 1758, Quebec in 1759 and Montreal in 1760. The Indians had no source of supply for powder and shot and couldn't hunt or fight. A peace treaty of that year renewed the terms of the 1726 treaty,³³³ and the Indians offered no more resistance, although officials of the colony continued to fear the possibility of it.

³²⁹ Arsenault, *Histoire et Généalogie des Acadiens*, 1:207-209.

³³⁰ Knox, *Historical Journal*, 3:592.

³³¹ A-022, LAC, MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 16, I.22, ff.71-72, Reel B-1027.

³³² A-022, LAC, MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 16, I.22, f. 73, Reel B-1027.

³³³ D-001, PANS, RG 1, Vol. 284, No. 17. This was actually a treaty with the La Have Band of Indians, to which the adhesions of other bands were added as they sought terms with the Crown. Upton refers to these "Peace and Friendship treaties as little more than surrenders, as the Bands agreed to end their armed struggle and agree to the the terms of the 1725

7.7 American Immigration

From the time of the Treaty of Utrecht until the expulsions, there had been a number of schemes to import British settlers into the colony, but except for Halifax and Lunenburg, none had come to anything. The major stumbling blocks to settlement were the Indian threat, and the lack of suitable land. Following the defeat of the French and Indian threat, and the availability of land after the removal of the Acadians, immigration into Nova Scotia, which had been a mere trickle, became a flood.

New Englanders replaced Acadians in the Annapolis Valley, Minas, Cobequid and Cumberland districts. Fishermen settled along the South and West coasts in places such as Yarmouth (Cap Fourchu), Barrington (Ministigueche), Liverpool and Chester.³³⁴ A census prepared for Governor Francklin, dated January 1, 1767, presents the population as follows (townships within the study area are indicated by **bold**):

Fig. 5

Township	Total	British	American	German or other	Acadian	Indian	Negro
Amherst	123	90	29	0	4	0	0
Annapolis	513	68	370	8	67	0	6
Barrington	376	11	365	0	0	4	0
Blandford	95	84	11	0	0	0	0
Breton, Island of	707	245	170	21	271	0	7
Canso	519	249	73	0	197	0	2
Chester	231	45	175	11	0	0	1
Cornwallis	727	25	697	1	4	3	7
Cumberland	334	53	269	5	7	0	0
Dartmouth	39	22	8	9	0	0	1
Dublin	107	24	60	23	0	0	0
Falmouth	292	32	200	18	42	0	4
Granville	383	23	350	10	0	0	5
Halifax and environs	3,022	1,207	1,351	264	200	0	54
Hopewell	159	14	62	59	24	20	3
Horton	634	2	617	15	0	0	2
Lawrencetown	15	10	5	0	0	0	1
Liverpool	634	32	594	6	2	1	4
Londonderry	148	138	10	0	0	0	0
Lunenburg	1,468	26	25	1,417	0	0	2
Maugerville	261	20	235	6	0	0	1

Treaty. There were no obligations upon the Crown other than to provide trading posts (truckhouses). Furthermore, there was no discussion of lands or reserves, or of band membership (Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists*, 59). No such treaty appears to have been signed with the Indians of Cape Sable. Whether or not this was because there was no evidence that the Cape Sable Band participated in the war is not clear.

³³⁴ Thompson, *Men and Meridians*, 1:120.

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Monckton	60	4	7	49	0	0	0
Newport	279	36	242	1	0	0	2
Onslow	245	108	137	0	0	0	0
Sackville	349	6	343	0	0	0	0
St. John's, Island of	519	249	70	3	197	0	2
Truro	301	301	0	0	0	0	0
Wilmot	40	21	19	0	0	0	0
Windsor	243	70	48	15	110	0	0
Yarmouth, 1775	379	23	351	5	0	0	0
Total	13,202	3,238	6,893	1,946	1,125	28	104

Omitted from this census was Mirimachi, the St. John River, and, unfortunately, Cape Sable. Military personnel were not included either. What this table shows is that only six years after the end of hostilities, and six years after the Peace treaty in 1763, Americans in Nova Scotia outnumbered all other categories combined. Furthermore, the remaining Acadians numbered only 1,125, or less than nine per cent of the total population. Most of the remaining Acadians were to be found on Cape Breton Island, Ile St. Jean, Canso, or at Halifax or Windsor, which was the site of the Acadian settlement of Piziguit. As for Indians, only 28 were enumerated, just over a quarter of the number of inhabitants of African origin.³³⁵

Another census conducted a few years later, which, unfortunately, has not survived intact, shows the percentage of Americans in the Colony to have increased substantially, although it is not possible, due to missing figures, to obtain a complete picture. One item of note is that according to this census, the Acadian population at Annapolis had more than doubled since 1766, while there were still none in Yarmouth County (townships within the study area are indicated by **bold**):³³⁶

Fig. 6

Township	Total	English	Scots	Irish	American	German or Other	Acadian
Amherst, 1770	152	2	3	69	54	0	26
Annapolis, 1770	437	20	2	10	226	3	176
Barrington, 1770	387	4	0	0	383	0	0
Conway, 1775	145	2	0	1	142	0	0
Cumberland, 1770	299	14	6	16	257	5	1
Falmouth, 1770	322	19	23	48	200	19	13
Granville, 1770	420	2	6	44	350	18	0
Hillsborough, 1770	100	0	1	9	51	11	34
Horton, 1770	682	0	0	17	665	0	0
Londonderry, 1770	254	0	1	151	102	0	0
New Dublin, 1770	154	9	7	31	87	19	0
Onslow, 1770	205	3	0	13	188	1	0
Donnegal (Pictou),	120	2	2	18	93	0	5

³³⁵ *Report of the Board of Trustees of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia for the Year Ended 31 December 1934*, (Halifax: 1935), 27-55.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 27-55. This census was published as an appendix to the report. According to introductory notes, the original documents were deteriorating and were practically illegible. The censuses for a number of townships had deteriorated to the point where they were illegible, and this explains their absence from the table above.

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1770							
Sackville, 1770	360	1	1	1	357	0	0
Truro, 1770	282	0	11	40	224	0	7
Yarmouth, 1775	673	2	0	0	666	5	0
Total	4,992	80	63	468	4,045	81	262

On the eve of the American Revolution, Francis Legge, the Governor of Nova Scotia, informed Lord Dartmouth, the Secretary of State for Colonies, on May 24, 1774, that “The number of Inhabitants by Computing from the last accounts, may Amount to about 17,000 exclusive of the French Acadians, who may amount to about 1,300 ... the number of blacks don’t exceed 20.”³³⁷

A census contained in the Andrew Brown Collection shows the following Acadian population in Nova Scotia in 1771:

- 1. Windsor 17 fam^s, 82 souls
- 2. Halifax et environs 24 fam. 118 souls
- 3. Chegelkouk 17 fam. 96 s^{ls}.
- 4. Cap de Sable 12 fam^s. 50 s^{ls} [within the study area].
- 5. Baye Ste. Marie 24 fam. 98 s^{ls} [adjacent to the study area].
- 6. Riviere S^t Jean 37 fam. 158 souls.
- 7. Fort Cumberland 16 fam^s. 70 souls.
- 8. Memramkouk 23 fam^s. 87 souls.
- 9. Petkoodiak 14 fam. 51 souls. 810 souls total.³³⁸

8.0 The Return of the Acadians

Jonathon Belcher, the Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, and the Executive Council noted that the colonial administration could no longer deport the Acadians as no other British Colony was accepting them and were resigned to the fact that a place must be found for them to settle those who remained within the colony. It was probably safest, members of the Council agreed, to only allow Acadian settlement in places which were as far away as possible from the French frontier. On April 14, 1761, the minutes stated that:

And the Council having further considered in what parts of the Province they might be settled with least danger, were of the opinion that the Townships now and here-after to be settled on the Coast, between Halifax and Annapolis (intended to comprehend Twelve Townships) will be most proper for that purpose; in each of which Townships it is apprehended Ten or Twelve Families may be mixed with His Majesty’s British Subjects; in which situation, being far distant from any considerable Tribes of Indians, they will be least capable of being mischievous.³³⁹

³³⁷ *Canadian Archives Report*, 1905, Vol. 2, 232.

³³⁸ B-010, LAC, MG 21, Add. MSS. 19071, f. 125, Reel C-11964.

³³⁹ A-025, LAC, MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 18, L. 44, Reel B-1027. See also a Council Minute for April 14, 1760, A-034, MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia “B” Series, Vol. 10, Reel H-1980, pp. 165-170.

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The Council appears to have had a number of changes of heart, for a number of the prisoners being held by the British were expelled in 1762, and the minutes of a Council meeting held on March 27, 1764 stated that "the Council was still further confirmed in opinion that the safety of this Province depends on the total expulsion of the French Acadians."³⁴⁰ Even after ten years, it appears that the Acadians and the Indians were not to be altogether trusted to settle together. Governor Legge advised Lord Dartmouth on August 20, 1774, that "their [the Acadian's] connections with the Native Indians is such, and the places they chuse to reside at, generally at a distance from the English, that in case of a War, there is great Reason to apprehend they will incite the Savages to do mischief."³⁴¹

A chart in the Andrew Brown collection states that as of September 1790 there were approximately 110 "Acadian" families in Cape Sable and St. Mary's Bay. There are no Acadians listed anywhere else in peninsular Nova Scotia, except perhaps for 140 families at Cumberland, in the Isthmus of Chignecto (near the former Beaubassin).³⁴²

As for the Mi'kmaq, they appear to have been pushed to the margins of the colony after the peace treaty. Moses de le Dernier, in his 1791 statement for Andrew Brown, mentioned that in 1750 the Indians had an effective strength of over 1,500 men, but 40 years later they were both less numerous and less visible:

Numbers are now very much decreased, but as to their present Number it is difficult to ascertain as they are a Roving Nation and very obscure and have withdrawn themselves very much from their former Routes on account of the failure of the Moose in these parts (which was a great part of their Dependence for subsistence) and the beaver which was a principal Article of Traffic. But it is a prevalent Opinion that they have decreased very much in Numbers of late years, In which I was confirmed by Two of they Ancient Men not long since.³⁴³

De le Dernier added that since France had lost its colonies, the Mi'kmaq were less submissive to the Catholic priests, and had almost entirely abandoned the French language. This seems to be confirmed in a statement by J. Bernard Gilpin, a prominent naturalist, made approximately 80 years later. Listing Indian surnames, French surnames were much less common than English ones, and Gilpin noted that most of the Mi'kmaq with French names were found in Cape Breton, which the French retained for almost 50 years after losing the rest of Nova Scotia.³⁴⁴ According to another of Andrew Brown's

³⁴⁰ *Ibid*, Vol. 2, 258.

³⁴¹ *Ibid*, Vol. 2, 233.

³⁴² B-011, LAC, MG 21, Add. MSS. 19071, f. 127, Reel C-11964.

³⁴³ E-004, MG 11, Add. MSS. 19071, f. 263v, Reel C-11964.

³⁴⁴ Gilpin, quoted in H.F. McGee, *Native People of Atlantic Canada: A History of Indian -- Europeans* (Ottawa: 1983), 115-116.

correspondents, Judge Isaac Deschamps, by 1781 the Indians were mostly to be found on the Atlantic Coast, between Halifax and Cape Breton, and in Hants County (Windsor and Grand Pré).³⁴⁵

The Mi'kmaq population continued to decline. In his 1843 report on Indian Affairs in Nova Scotia, Joseph Howe reported that there were only 1,425 Mi'kmaqs in the entire province. In the Western District, which included the counties of Annapolis, Digby, Yarmouth, Shelburne, Queen's and Lunenburg, there were 415.³⁴⁶

8.1 Clare Township

Clare Township, in what is now Digby County, which lies along the western coast between Annapolis and Yarmouth Counties, became the main settlement of Acadians returning after the expulsions, to the extent that sometimes it is called Nova Scotia's "French shore." Andrew Hill Clark refers to this as ironic, as "we have no record of any pre-dispersion occupation or exploitation of St. Mary's Bay or the Digby Shore where the greatest post-dispersion concentration of Acadians in Nova Scotia was to take place."³⁴⁷

The township of Clare was established by government warrant in 1767. Its inhabitants had been collected together from all parts of the Province, but particularly from the environs of Halifax. In 1768 the first of several groups from Massachusetts joined the growing settlement, although many of the exiles went to Quebec.³⁴⁸ According to Josiah Wilson, the first inhabitants, as mentioned above, were those who successfully resisted deportation, of whom only the names of two are known: "Augustine Guidery" and his brother-in-law, "Oliver Robichaud."³⁴⁹

The first major influx happened in 1768, and involved about two hundred Acadian families, most of whom had lived in the Grand Pré region prior to the expulsions. Returning to Nova Scotia from Massachusetts on foot, they had originally hoped to regain their lost lands and property but instead found them occupied by the new settlers. The Acadians continued to travel until they reached St. Mary's Bay.³⁵⁰ Warrants of Survey were issued to these Acadians in 1768 and Joseph Dugast is generally considered to have been the first Acadian in the new district to have been granted his land.³⁵¹

³⁴⁵ Statement of "Old Judge Deschamps" in Brown Collection, (LAC, MG 21, Add. MSS 19071, f. 241). The "Deschamps" mentioned here is Isaac Deschamps, a prominent Judge and politician in colonial Nova Scotia (*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 5, 250-252). It is very unlikely that he was the "Deschamps" who was the nephew of "Old Labrador."

³⁴⁶ Joseph Howe, *Report on Indian Affairs*. PANS, RG 1, Vol. 431, p. 2, Reel 15472.

³⁴⁷ Clark, "A Good Day", 223.

³⁴⁸ Griffiths, "The Acadians," in *Dictionary of Canadian Bibliography* 4:xxviii.

³⁴⁹ Isaiah Wilson. *A Geography and History of the County of Digby, Nova Scotia* (1900; reprint, Belleville, NS: 1972), 28-29.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 29-30. Stephen White lists an Augustine Guédry as a child of Claude Guédry and Marguerite Petitpas, born about 1690. While it is unlikely that this is the man who first settled on St. Mary's Bay in the 1760s, it is possible that

In the 1830s Stephen Moorsom, an English traveller, noted that a community of Acadians of darker skin than the others resided in a certain area of Clare Township. Apart from this comment, however, which comes at least sixty years after the events it describes and may represent an oral tradition, no more information about this supposed community has been located:

A few families of semi-Indian extraction are to be found in this settlement: their origin must be referred to the commencement of the eighteenth century, when the invasion and partial subjugation of Nova Scotia by the British forces from New England, united the Acadian-French and Indians in common cause against the intruders, and subsequently forced many of the former to take refuge among the fastnesses of their savage allies. These families are looked upon as rather without the pale of social brotherhood; but their habits do not differ from those of their neighbours, and it is probable they will gradually become blended with the general mass of the community³⁵²

A catalogue of the families of St. Mary's Bay was prepared by Father Sigogné, who became the resident priest in 1799. This catalogue includes a glossary of terms used for annotations made to entries. There is no annotation used to denote families of mixed-ancestry, although there are notes for Negroes.³⁵³

8.2 Yarmouth County

Yarmouth County was one of the centres of Acadian settlement upon the return of the Acadians to Nova Scotia after the expulsions, although it was very sparsely settled prior to then. It was here that the small settlements of Chebogue, Poubomcoup and Ouiknagan were located previously. It is also where many of those who "self-identify" as "Métis" presently reside.

Little information has been found concerning the return to the area of Acadians after the expulsions, apart from a book written by George S. Brown in 1888. He noted that land had been granted to a number of British settlers, who in turn, starting in the 1770s, leased then sold it to returning Acadians, including Pierre Surette. The Acadians there lived in the communities of Eel Brook, the Wedge, West

he had a son, although White records no offspring (White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, 1:770). There was an Augustin Guédry born around 1740, who was the son of Paul's brother, Pierre Guédry (Arsenault, *Histoire et Généalogie*, 2:598).

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 30.

³⁵² W.S. Moorsom, *Letters from Nova Scotia* (London: 1830), 263.

³⁵³ Father Jean-Mandé Sigogné, *St. Mary's Bay, 1818-1829: Catalogue of Families, St. Mary's Bay Roman Catholic Parish, Clare, Digby County, Nova Scotia* (Clearwater, 1975), xix. In "A Good day on the Aboiteau" Chute cites a recent thesis by Gerald C. Boudreau of the University of Montreal, on Sigogné, who, according to Boudreau, was very much prejudiced against those of mixed-ancestry, who he considered to be an "unruly class." It may have thus been probable, therefore, that if such a definable mixed-ancestry group had been present, he would have been cognizant to identify it. Chute goes on to say, however, that Sigogné was quite arbitrary in how he defined those of pure and mixed-ancestry, and drew up his own racial categories which were not necessarily based on genealogy.

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Pubnico Surette's Island, Quinan and East Pubnico.³⁵⁴ Judge Deschamps, in a 1782 report written for Andrew Brown, stated only that "The settlement next to Clare on the so [sic] side of the Bay of fundy is called Argyle, where a few Acadians and Scotch reside."³⁵⁵

The settlement of this area by returning Acadians is somewhat controversial. There appear to be no documents extant that mention the mixed-ancestry of the Acadians who settled here, but Chute writes:

In 1769 several of Paul Labrador's sons, along with other *metis*, including members of the Babin, Pothier and families [sic] who also escaped deportation, congregated at Chezzetcook where they were met by Father Francis Bailly ... It has been argued that around 1769 *metis* families accompanied Bailey [sic] when he journeyed to Cape Sable region in 1769, with the Surettes, Babins, Bourques and Pothiers eventually branching out to settle at Lower Eel River [then known as Ruisseau-aux-Anguilles, or simply Eel Brook] in present day Argyle township, with the Labradors choosing to live near their original "farm."³⁵⁶

A local history of the area, which was published in 1985, makes no mention of any mixed-ancestry. Joan Bourque Campbell, in her book *L'Histoire de la Paroisse de Sainte-Anne-du-Ruisseau*, mentioned a less-orchestrated arrival at Eel Brook. According to Campbell, Dominique Pottier, from Beaubassin, had been captured by the British and was being held at Fort Edward. He was later transferred to Halifax and later deported to Massachusetts. That colony, however, sent him back to Nova Scotia and he resided in the area around the present-day town of Windsor, until he was in Halifax in 1769. Pierre Surette's story is similar. He was also imprisoned at Fort Edward, and also deported, before reappearing in Halifax in 1769.³⁵⁷

A petition was presented to the Executive Council and a Minute of the Council, dated October 5, 1767, stated that:

On the Application of Eighteen Families of Acadians now residing at Cape Sables, for lands for a Settlement - Advised that on taking the oaths of allegiance to the government lands shall be assigned them in the Neighborhood of Barrington & Yarmouth.³⁵⁸

Brown's history of Yarmouth County contains a rather lengthy appendix on the Acadians of Eel Brook, which features a number of biographies, complete with genealogical information, Pierre

³⁵⁴ George S. Brown, *Yarmouth, Nova Scotia: A Sequel to Campbell's History* (Boston: 1888), 398.

³⁵⁵ Statement of "Old Judge [Isaac] Deschamps," Brown Collection, LAC, MG 21, Add. MSS. 19071, f. 241.

³⁵⁶ Chute, "A Good Day", 53-54. Chute does not identify the source of this information.

³⁵⁷ Joan Bourque Campbell, *L'Histoire de la Paroisse de Sainte-Anne-du- Ruisseau (Eel Brook)* (Montreal: 1985), 14-15.

³⁵⁸ A-031, LAC, MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia "B" Series, Vol. 14, Reel H-1980, 163-164. Unfortunately, the petition itself could not be located.

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Surette's is the first Acadian thus profiled, and it is clear that Brown considers him to be the de facto leader of the Acadians of Yarmouth County at the time of the return. According to Brown, this would not have been an unfamiliar role, as he had been a prominent Acadian before the expulsions as well, and had lived in the Piziguit area:

Pierre Surette 1st, as herein designated, was the ancestor of all of the name in Yarmouth County. Long before the expulsion of 1755, he was prominent among the Acadians of the Northern shores. As chief and governor, not by appointment of any government, but by the choice and consent of the people, he presided over 150 Acadian families at the settlement of Piguit, some 15 miles from Grand Pré, the site of the present town of Windsor. What was sent from France for this Acadian settlement passed for distribution through the hands of Pierre Surette. His name appears in the census for Port Royal of 1714; and in 1730 he signed the Oath of Allegiance (not the "long oath") with 226 others, all males, and comprising 72 different family names.³⁵⁹

Brown states that on November 18, 1759, Pierre Surette, with Jean Bourque and Michel Bourque, who were deputies of the 700 or so Acadians residing at Mirimachi, arrived at Fort Cumberland asking for a supply of provisions for the winter. Later a delegation of the same people concluded a treaty with the Commandant, Col. Fry, and Surette was one of the signatories.³⁶⁰ In fact, a list of "French Prisoners" and their families being held at Fort Edward, near Windsor, shows that Pierre Surette and his family were in custody from October 5, 1761 until October 11, 1762. The list also shows "Dominique Poitier" to have been a prisoner at Fort Edward as well.³⁶¹

As for the Babins, Brown stated that:

The Babins were among the earliest settlers of Acadia, their names appearing in the first census of 1671; and they, with the ancestors of the Boudreaus, Bourgeois, Bourques, Comeaus, Corporons, Cothereaus, Doucettes, Gaudets, Landrys, LeBlancs, Melançons, Richards, Robichaus, Theriaults, and Thibodeaus of Yarmouth County, are believed to have belonged to that respectable class of colonists brought to Acadia about 1632 by the Seigneurs de RAZILLY and D'AULNAY for the permanent settlement of this country.³⁶²

Brown's book contains a great deal of information concerning the other Acadians who settled at Eel Brook and the other settlements in the area, including genealogy, but there is no information concerning mixed-ancestry.³⁶³

³⁵⁹ Brown, *Yarmouth*, 398-399.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 455.

³⁶¹ Régis Sygefroy Brun, "Liste des prisonniers Acadiens au fort Edward, 1761 et 1762: Papiers Deschamps" in *La Société Historique Acadienne, 24ième Cahier*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (July-September, 1969), 158-164. This list is part of the Isaac Deschamps family papers, held by the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

³⁶² *Ibid*, 416.

³⁶³ *Ibid*, 397-427.

Indeed, mixed-ancestry information appears to be missing entirely from any documents concerning the return of the Acadians to Nova Scotia, including their petitions. In a sense it is understandable, as the Acadians were seeking a favour from the government, and they would not wish to remind the Crown of a connection to its most implacable foes.³⁶⁴

There is a great deal of uncertainty about what went on in Yarmouth County during the expulsions and the period following. Reverend J.R. Campbell, who wrote a history of Yarmouth County in the late 19th century, mentioned the settlement on Vaughan Lake, which he stated was founded by those escaping from the British at Tusket and Eel Lake.³⁶⁵ Wilson, however, believed that they were originally from Port Royal.³⁶⁶ Campbell stated that they associated with the Indians, but he comments no more than that upon the subject. Campbell also seemed to imply that after the expulsions Pubnico was the only settlement that remained,³⁶⁷ but although the modern village is roughly near the location of d'Entremont's old barony, it is not on the same spot. According to Janet Chute, Father Clarence-Joseph spent his life looking for the foundations of the original d'Entremont manor, but never found them. Members of the d'Entremont family were allowed back to the area, where they helped establish the village of West Pubnico, which is across the Pubnico River from the original site.³⁶⁸

9.0 Discussion of Results

While the documentary record seems to suggest that there were no distinct mixed-ancestry communities in Acadia/Nova Scotia prior to the influx of the loyalists after the American Revolution, the assertion could not be conclusively disproved, either. The population of the study area was small, and it seems that for long periods the area escaped official scrutiny.

In favour of the existence of such communities is the argument, which is certainly borne out by genealogy, that certain families in which members married, or were thought to have married, Mi'kmaq women did marry others of similar families. The Mius d'Azy family, for example, married members of both the Lejeune and Guédry families. The difficulty is that often this Indian ancestry is unproven or in dispute. In the case of the Lejeune family for instance, Rameau de St. Père believed the father of Pierre and Martin Lejeune *dit* Briard to have been Mi'kmaq, an argument taken up in the present day by Janet Chute and William Wicken. Stephen White, on the other hand, believes the first Pierre

³⁶⁴ The *Report of the Candian Archives* for 1905 (Vol. 2) contains petitions from Acadians who identify themselves as having lived in Cape Sable, including John Mius, Francis Meuse, Jacques Mireau (Amireau?) and Joseph Entremont (*Report of the Candian Archives*, 1905, 2:104-105, 124, 126). One petitioner, Jacques LeBlanc, formerly of Mirliguesche, described how he saved an Englishman from "Indians" who intended to kill him (p. 120).

³⁶⁵ J.R. Campbell, *A History of the County of Yarmouth, Nova Scotia* (1888; reprint, Tusket, NS: 1995), 32.

³⁶⁶ Wilson, *County of Digby*, 28.

³⁶⁷ Campbell, *County of Yarmouth*, 23.

³⁶⁸ Chute, "A Good Day", 25 n.80.

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Lejeune's wife to have been the daughter of Germain Doucet, the Sieur de la Verdure. As for the Guédry family, while Claude Guédry's first wife was Mi'kmaq, his second wife was not (she was the daughter of the Sieur de la Fleur, Claude Petitpas, of Port Royal). Thus, neither Jean-Baptist Guédry nor Paul Guédry (Labrador?) was of mixed ancestry.

In some cases, genealogies have been used selectively show these families intermarrying. That may have happened, but these families did not marry exclusively amongst each other. Families were large, and other siblings married families in other parts of the colony. In fact, it would be almost impossible not to see such intermarriages, given the small size of the community and the large families.

Nevertheless, as Naomi Griffiths has pointed out, at least five per cent of the households in 1671 had at least one aboriginal spouse, and the children of those unions would then carry that mixed-ancestry into other households. In a colony where the population grew by a factor of 30 in eighty years (four generations), and that experienced little outside immigration, it is likely that almost every family in the colony had an ancestor of mixed-heritage somewhere.

It is unclear, however, that those of mixed-ancestry formed separate communities. While Wicken argues that social ostracism of those of mixed-ancestry caused them to form separate communities that could hardly have been the case in Acadia. In fact, as demonstrated in the chapter on intermarriage, above, those families that are known to have had members who married Indians were amongst the most prominent in the colony. Apart from the Doucet, Mius and Petitpas families mentioned above, there were intermarriages in the La Tours, the Saint-Castins, the LeBorgnes, the DuPonts and the family of Nicolas Denys. These names represent the elite of Acadia.

If Pierre Lejeune dit Briard was of mixed-ancestry, as Rameau de St. Père and others after him claim, it certainly didn't stop him from marrying into the family of one of the richest merchants of Port Royal, Pierre Thibodeau. Also, the marriage of another of his daughters to Mathieu de Goutin, the Crown Prosecutor for Acadia, made Pierre Lejeune the Brother-in-law of the second most powerful man in the colony. And it didn't save his descendants from expulsion with the rest of the Acadians 50 years later. As Olive Dickason, Naomi Griffiths and Geoffrey Plank write, the children of mixed unions appear to have been well accepted as members of the Acadian community.

In all of the orders given to British officers for the expulsion of the Acadians from Cape Sable, there is no mention in either those orders, or the reports that were written afterwards, that individuals of mixed-ancestry were ever given any special consideration or even considered in policy. As Reverend Graham found at Fort Cumberland, with the French expelled everyone remaining in the colony was officially an "Indian."

There were reports of Acadians fighting their expulsions from sanctuaries in the woods, but most of this appears to have happened in the area of present-day New Brunswick. Although a local history states that some Acadians remained in hiding in the area of modern Digby County, contemporary documents make no mention of this. That is not surprising, however, for apart from two brief military incursions – one in 1756 and the other in 1758 – there was no continuous British presence in the area.

As for those who returned to the study area, no reference was found to their supposed mixed-ancestry. This is understandable, however, for even if they were of mixed-ancestry, it is unlikely that in search

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of a favour they would have reminded British government of this connection. The problem is that there is no mention of mixed-ancestry individuals in any local history that followed; not in Isaiah Wilson's history of Digby County, not in George Brown's history of Yarmouth County (both late 19th century), and not even in Margaret Bourque Campbell's history of the Eel Brook area, which was published in 1985.

An examination of primary sources was unable to conclusively prove the existence of any mixed-ancestry communities along the southern coast of Nova Scotia that were recognized as such by others or by themselves. By the same token, the documentary record could not disprove such communities existing at certain times during the study period, either. The populations in the study area were very small, and the area itself came under so little official scrutiny that records are almost non-existent. All that can be said is that there was no contemporary mention in official documents, which are practically the only evidence extant.

Wicken also writes that it was acknowledged that the communities along the Atlantic coast were "Métis" communities, but there is no primary source extant which acknowledges this. The surviving primary evidence contains no mention at all of mixed-ancestry communities. French officials and missionaries, right up until the time of the expulsions, saw the population of the study area in terms of "French" inhabitants and "Indians." This can be seen in the 1846 letter of Beauharnois and Hocquart to Count Maurepas, and in the 1748 report which provided a summary of the area's population.

This recognition of only two communities – Acadian and Mi'kmaq – continued right up into the British period. The individuals who returned to Lunenburg from Cape Breton Island in 1754 were referred to as "French." British officials did acknowledge that many Acadians were of mixed-ancestry, but instead of seeing these figures as members of a separate community, they were more likely to see this as a characteristic of the Acadians in general. Some British observers even went as far as to write that the Mi'kmaq and the Acadians were merely two branches of the same people. The crisis sparked by the rumour of the New England privateers in January 1745 suggests that many Acadians themselves believed that they were of mixed-ancestry. It must be kept in mind that this panic was occurring in the Acadian agricultural heartland, where the population was more isolated from Indian groups than those on the southern Atlantic coast, where the Acadians were outnumbered by the Indians and had more similar lifestyles.

Along with being of mixed-ancestry, part of the argument for the classification of those who lived along the Atlantic coast as a distinct community is that of lifestyle. The peoples of the study area farmed a little and they hunted, which is between both the lifestyle of the Indians and of the Acadians of the Bay of Fundy. At the same time it could be argued that such a lifestyle is not in itself an indication of mixed-ancestry. British missionary John Clarkson wrote this description of settlers he encountered along the Atlantic coast, near Shelburne:

Here during the summer season they plant potatoes and sow a little corn – the wealthiest of them perhaps possess a few sheep or a cow. By these means they strive with some difficulty strive to glean a scanty subsistence – during the winter season they traverse the woods with their dog and gun, properly accoutered with snow shoes in search of wild fowl, moose, deer, cariboes &c. &c.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁹ Clarkson, *Mission to America*, 48.

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The year that Clarkson wrote this was 1791, and the inhabitants he was describing were recent British or New England immigrants. Considering the marginal farmland of the area, it would be difficult to support oneself any other way in this area.

The degree to which the Acadians were of mixed-ancestry is almost impossible to determine, however, at least at the present time. The documentary evidence is fragmentary, and what does survive is contradictory. Between 1604 and 1670 many single men came to Acadia, and many took Aboriginal wives, or at least had liaisons with Indian women. Later, a number of church marriages were recorded. As the children of those unions intermarried, their genes were dispersed throughout the Acadian population, although the degree to which the entire Acadian population as a whole, as well as the Mi'kmaq population, had people of mixed-ancestry in their family trees is not known.

One theory that suggested itself early in the research was that instead of looking for isolated settlements containing a distinct mixed-ancestry population, it would have been more proper to consider the Acadians as a whole to be that mixed-ancestry community. As noted above, there is a great deal of evidence which suggests that many Acadians were of mixed-ancestry, even those living in the agricultural heart of Acadia, and the evidence also points to the Acadians being isolated from both the British and French regimes. Furthermore, observers noted traits which were unique to the French inhabitants of Acadia, such as their distinctive dialects that contained several Indian words, and their use of Mi'kmaq-style birch canoes and Mi'kmaq herbal medicines. Some Britons, it will be remembered, referred to the Acadians as being the same people as the Indians.

This thesis is very controversial, however, and some academics are adamant that the Acadians were not and are not an Indian people. They adopted Indian ways of doing things, they argue because that was easiest way of adapting to their new homes, and they kept their distance from one regime so as not to upset the other. As Brebner wrote, "they learned to expect little from France and to ignore the English as much as possible."³⁷⁰ Naomi Griffiths herself is quite opposed to this "Acadian as Aboriginal" thesis, and stresses that the Acadians were a European people, in that they lived in sedentary villages, tilled soil and raised livestock, lived by codes of law, spoke a European language (though with a bit of a Mi'kmaq vocabulary added), dressed like Europeans and practised a European religion. They were people of the book, she notes.

The unique behaviour of the Acadians, she believes, was a result of the unique situation in Acadia. First, the Acadians had to be very accommodating, for without the powerful backing of the Crown, they had to be careful not to offend either the Indians or neighbouring colonies, such as New England. In fact, Acadians came to rely upon New England for support. Secondly, although the British were granted Acadia by the Treaty of Utrecht, Griffiths does not believe that that the Acadians could have possibly believed that that was the final word on the matter. Acadia had changed hands too many times before, and they were probably convinced that it would happen again. They were concerned about the consequences they would have faced if they had signed the loyalty oaths and the French regime returned. The Acadians felt that it was much safer to try and ignore both sides. In the event, they ended up angering both.

³⁷⁰ Brebner, *New England's Outpost*, 44.

Griffiths feels that the behaviour of the Acadians was not, therefore, the behaviour of a population separate and distinct from both the British and the French, but instead the behaviour of a “border” people, such as the Belgians, Kashmiris or the Alsatians, who attempted to carry on with their normal life in the face of forces they have no power to control.³⁷¹

There does not appear to have been any particular word to describe a person of mixed ancestry which was used in the study region during the period under study. Cadillac described all of the French inhabitants as “*Creolles*” in 1692, and in 1745 the minutes of the Governor’s Executive Council mentioned that there were a number of “*Mulattos*” amongst the inhabitants. These words were not found in any other documents. The word “*Métis*,” in the sense it is meant today, was found in the *Jesuit Relations* to have been used at least once, in referring to people along the Mississippi River in modern Illinois, but it was never used in Acadia. Later historians applied it to Acadia, along with such expressions as “*Bois Brulé*,” which originated in Western Canada. “*Metisse*” was sometimes used, and there are two contemporary cases: one in Restigouche and the other in Cape Breton, but the word was not used by itself; it was used to denote a cross, compounded with another word (e.g. *metisse-Sauvage*).

Persons of mixed-ancestry in Acadia and Nova Scotia, it is supposed, were members of the communities in which the mothers resided. If the mother married into an Acadian community, the child was raised as an Acadian. If the mother remained with her Mi’kmaq family, the child was Mi’kmaq.

10.0 Suggestions for Additional Research

While the documentary sources tend to demonstrate that there were no mixed-ancestry communities in Acadia/Nova Scotia, they do not rule them out conclusively. It may be possible that such a community may have simply escaped notice, due to the isolated and sparsely populated study area. This is a list of further research that could be undertaken, apart from the DNA testing of every living descendant of an Acadian or a Mi’kmaq to determine relationships.

10.1 Analysis of Genealogical Research

A more thorough analysis of Acadian genealogy could be completed, although it must be said that the amount of material already published on Acadian genealogy is massive, and has turned up little of use in the study area. What could be most helpful would be a database in which the descendents of those known to be of mixed-ancestry, and where they lived, could be identified. It must be kept in mind, however, that while genealogies of Acadia are very plentiful, not all of them agree, particularly in respect to the earliest period of the colony, from 1604 to 1670.

³⁷¹ N.E.S. Griffiths, “Accommodation, Deportation and Settlement: The Acadian Experience in 18th Century Nova Scotia.” A paper presented at a symposium in honour of Dr. John Reid, St. Mary’s University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, October 22, 2004: 8

Also, it is not clear that all of the work that could be done, particularly with regards to France, has been done. This could be valuable with respect to determining who the spouses were of many of the earliest settlers. Statistics, marriage patterns, population models, etc. could be explored.

10.2 Analysis of Acadian Culture/Language in the Study Area

Genevieve Massignon, a French linguist, studied Acadian dialects in the 1960s to determine the contributions that were made by the different regions of France. While some consideration was given to Mi'kmaq contributions, more work could be done, with the focus on Mi'kmaq (and perhaps Abenaki) influences. A difficulty, of course, would be that one could not simply go to the Atlantic Coast of Nova Scotia to study the Acadians there, as they were removed by the expulsions. One also has to recognize that after all that the Acadians have gone through in the 250 years since the expulsions that their dialect has changed from what it was in 1755. Many of the descendants, such as those living in the southern United States, do not even speak French anymore.

10.3 Archival Records

According to the terms of reference, most of the research involved the British Period, from the Treaty of Utrecht to the end of the Seven Years War. This turned up very little on mixed-ancestry peoples, but it is possible that there may be more in the documents of the French Regime (prior to 1713). Some work in this direction was undertaken, but more could be done. More time could also be spent reviewing the British Colonial Office documents, as time did not allow us to do look at everything in the Colonial Office files that we would have liked to look at. The years immediately after the conquest in 1713 were selected, as they represented the years in which the British inventoried their new possession, and the period of the expulsions, and the years immediately preceding and following were selected because they represented another period of official interest, and increased British presence. Files from the period between the conquest and the expulsions (roughly 1721-1744) could now be examined.

The difficulty with this may be that in many respects, the records may just not exist. If there were mixed-ancestry communities in Acadia/Nova Scotia, they most likely existed on the Atlantic coast of southern Nova Scotia. This area, however, was almost never visited by colonial officials. The missionaries provide another possible source of records. The National Archives holds microfilm copies of a considerable amount of material from the Vatican Archives, but these are the property of the Vatican, and access is restricted by the National Archives. An ATIP request has been filed, but as of yet we have not been able to gain access to the records. It is also unclear what the material would tell us. As Mason Wade wrote, the Recollects were not even close to being the annalists that the Jesuits were.³⁷²

It may also be necessary to undertake research outside of Canada, in the Archives of Britain, France and New England. Massachusetts may be the most likely location to look, as many of the military

³⁷² Wade, "French Indian Policies", 35.

personnel who came to Nova Scotia were New Englanders, as were many of the traders who plied the coast of the study area. Furthermore, the Government of Massachusetts was always intensely interested in affairs in Acadia/Nova Scotia.

10.4 Oral Traditions

The terms of reference specifically ruled against the use of modern oral evidence, but in the absence of any extant documentary records shedding light on this subject, this research methodology could be considered in the future explorations of this subject. Certainly those, like Janet Chute, attempting to document the existence of “Métis” communities used oral history.

10.5 Study of Non-Treaty Mi'kmaq Communities and the Establishment of Reserves

The question of non-status Mi'kmaq communities could use further study. Preliminary work on the 1901 census showed that even as early as that date, individuals were being identified as being of mixed-ancestry. Whether these individuals were the descendents of mixed-ancestry peoples prior to 1760, or whether they were the descendents of Mi'kmaqs who had been enfranchised or otherwise left their bands under the terms of Canada's *Indian Act* could not be determined from the census.

The major problem is that not enough is known about the settling of the Mi'kmaqs on reserves in the period from 1820 to 1840. We know that land was initially granted to the Indians in the late 1700s, and that these grants later became reserves, but we know almost nothing about how the membership of the bands was determined. Indian Affairs was a colonial matter, and these documents, if they exist, are the property of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. A search of the Archives turned up nothing relevant, but it is known that the Archives has a large amount of material from its colonial past that has never been processed, and the relevant material might be there.

10.6 Time Period

William Wicken suggested that an important factor in the creation of a “Métis” community in Nova Scotia was the rejection of its members by European society. Very little evidence of this was found in the 17th and 18th centuries, but it is possible that this pressure was felt in the 19th century, the great age of nationalism in Western culture. Research could be undertaken on communities in the study area, particularly those in Digby and Yarmouth Counties from 1790 until 1900 to explore this hypothesis.

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Appendix 1: Records Researched

A) Primary Sources

i. Archival Sources³⁷³

Maps/Plans (National Map Collection, Library and Archives Canada)

Reference	Description (Author)	Date
NMC 9850	Map of New France (Samuel de Champlain)	1607
NMC 97952	Map of New France (Marc Lescarbot)	1609
NMC 51970	Map of New France (Samuel de Champlain)	1632
NMC 108	Map of Acadia, Cape Breton & the St. Lawrence (Nicholas Denys)	1672
NMC 34176	Chart of the coasts of Nova Scotia and Acadia (Nathaniel Blackmore)	1715
NMC 23187	Map of America including Nova Scotia (Nichols Visscher et al)	1719
NMC 112	Acadia	1720
NMC 134124	Chart of Nova Scotia and Southern New Brunswick (Cyprian Southack)	[1729-1734?]
NMC 8665	Chart of the Sea Coast of Nova Scotia, Acadia and Cape Breton (Thomas Durrell)	1736
NMC 132701	Chart of the sea coast of Nova Scotia, Acadia and Cape Breton	1736
H3/1102/[1745]	Chart of the Coast of New England, Nova Scotia, New France or Canada (N. Bellin)	1745
NMC 7349	Chart of the coasts of Nova Scotia and adjacent land (James Turner)	1750
H2/202/[1751]	Nova Scotia (Chabert)	1751
NMC 167	Map of the sea coast of Nova Scotia from Port Senior to Shillincook (Charles Morris)	1752
NMC 18407	Plan of Lunenburg Harbour	1753
NMC 26104	Survey of parts of the Province of Nova Scotia (Charles Morris)	1754
NMC 168	Chart of the Peninsula of Nova Scotia (Charles Morris)	1755
NMC 18328	Map of Chignecto Bason with the country adjacent and plans of the English and French forts in Nova Scotia	1755
NMC 51546	Map of Nova Scotia, and Cape Britain,	1755
NMC 6638	Map of the British and French settlements in North America (Thomas Bowles)	1755

³⁷³ All archival sources are referenced in chronological order.

NMC 18106	Map of the surveyed parts of Nova Scotia (Great Britain)	1756
NMC 26105	Draught of the Coast of Cape Sable from Cape Forchu to Cape Negro with all the Islands, Shoals, Ledges of Rocks and Soundings (Charles Morris)	1762
NMC 18109	Plan of part of the Province of Nova Scotia (Charles Morris)	1765
NMC 18110	Plan of part of Nova Scotia (Charles Morris)	1766
NMC 16678	Map of Nova Scotia, including the Islands of Cape Breton and St. Johns (John Montresor)	1768
H2/200/1768	Map of Nova Scotia or Acadia (John Montresor)	1768
V1/200/1775	Map containing four nautical plans of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton (Thomas Jeffreys)	1775
NMC 1855	Map of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island with the adjacent parts of New England and Canada (Thomas Jeffreys)	1775
NMC 18089	Map of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island with the adjacent parts of New England and Canada (Thomas Jeffreys)	1775
NMC 24654	A general map of the northern British Colonies in America (Holland et al)	1776
NMC 18111	Map of Nova Scotia (Barron)	1779
NMC 19576	Map of North America, including Nova Scotia (Ministry of Marine)	1780
NMC 7357	Map of the province of Nova Scotia in North America (Universal Magazine)	1781
NMC 19320	Plan of land surveyed, laid out and granted to loyal emigrants & disbanded corps within the County of Shelburne, Province of Nova Scotia (Charles Morris)	1785
NMC 119	Map of Nova Scotia, and Cape Britain, with the adjacent parts of New England and Canada (J. Murray)	1785
NMC 1862	Map of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island with the adjacent parts of New England and Canada (Thomas Jeffreys)	1786
NMC 8497	Map Of The British Colonies In North America Including Eastern Canada, The Province Of Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, And The Government Of Newfoundland: With The Adjacent States Of New England, Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania And New Jersey (Robert Sayer)	1788
NMC 17923	Map of part of the Province of Quebec and including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, the island of Cape Breton, and New England: and extending westward to the River Mississippi (Mann et al)	1791

NMC 1861	Map of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island with the adjacent parts of New England and Canada (Thomas Jeffreys)	1794
NMC 6737	The Unites States of America with the British Possessions of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Newfoundland divided with the French; also the Spanish Territories of Louisiana and Florida (Laurie & Whittle)	1794
NMC 27924	Chart of the Coast of Nova Scotia with the South Coast of New Brunswick; Includes part of the Islands of St. John and Cape Breton; and of the Coast of New England (Samuel Holland)	1798

Library and Archives Canada (LAC)

Reference	Title	Dates
MG 8, Series A1, Vol. 2, Reel C-13998	Colonial Archives – Official Correspondence	1621-1778
MG 1, Series C11G1, Vol. 466, pt 1	Acadie Recensements	1671-1752
MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 1, Reel C-3021	Acadie et Gaspésie – Registres Paroissiaux - Transcriptions	1679-1686
MG 1, Series F3, Vol. 50, Reel C-10531	Collection Moreau de Saint-Méry	1686-1766
MG 1, Series C11D, Vol. 3, fol. 104-114	Colonial Archives – General Correspondence	1698
MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 24, Reel C-1869	Port Royal – St. Jean Baptiste du Port Royal	1702-1755
MG 1, Series C11D, Vol. 6, fol. 19-32v	Colonial Archives	1707
MG 18, File 18	Acadia Census -1708	1708
MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 12, Reel C-1869	Mines – Saint-Charles-des-Mines	1709-1748
LAC, MG1, Series C11B, Vol. 1, Reel F-129	Correspondance Générale: Ile Royale	1712-1762
MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 1: 1713, Fols. 97-98, Reel B- 1021	Original Correspondence – Secretary of State, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, America and West Indies Vol. 596	1713
MG 1, Series C11A, Vol. 35, fol. 106-129v, Reel F-35	Colonial Archives – General Correspondence	1715
MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 2, Reel B-1022	Original Correspondence – Board of Trade, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton	1715-1719
MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 3: 1718-21, Reel B-1022	Original Correspondence – Secretary of State, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, America and West Indies Vol. 596	1718
MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 3: 1720, Reel C-37	Original Correspondence – Board of Trade, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton	1720
MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 1, Reel H-1979	Minutes of the Executive Council, Nova Scotia	1720-1732
MG 18, File 8	Paul Mascarene Fonds	1731-1753
MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 3: 1718-21, Reel B-1021	Original Correspondence – Secretary of State, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, America and West Indies Vol. 1	1732

MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 2, Reel H-1979	Minutes of the Executive Council, Nova Scotia	1733-1740
MG11, Series CO 217, Vol. 8: 1736-43 E Nos. 49-47, Reel B-1024	Original Correspondence - Board of Trade Nova Scotia and Cape Breton	1736-1743
MG 1, Series B, Vol. 68, fol. 37, Reel F-270A	Colonial Archives	1739
MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 3, Reel H-1979	Minutes of the Executive Council, Nova Scotia	1741-1746
LAC, MG 11, Series CO 5, Vol. 901, Reel B-6131	Original Correspondence – Secretary of State, New England	1746-1749
MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 4, Reel H-1979	Minutes of the Executive Council, Nova Scotia	1747-1751
MG 1, Series C 11A, Vol. 87, Folio 363-364v	“Description de L’Acadie...”	1748
MG 18, File 10	Charles Morris Fonds	1748
MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 9: 1748-50 F, Nos. 68-168, Reel B- 1024	Original Correspondence – Board of Trade, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton	1748-1750
MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 9: 1748-50 F, Nos. 104, Reel B-1024	Original Correspondence – Board of Trade, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, Indian Sympathies	1749
MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 10: 1750-51 G Nos. 1-53, Reel B-1025	Original Correspondence - Board of Trade Nova Scotia and Cape Breton	1750-1751
MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 11: 1750-51 G Nos. 53-96, Reel B-1025	Original Correspondence - Board of Trade Nova Scotia and Cape Breton	1750-1751
MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 3: 1718-21, Reel B-1032	Original Correspondence – Secretary of State, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, America and West Indies Vol. 596	1750-1753
LAC, MG 21, Add. Mss. 19073	Andrew Brown Collection – Deportation of the Acadians	1750-1791
MG11, Series CO 217, Vol. 12: 1751 G Nos. 97-139, Reel B-1025	Original Correspondence - Board of Trade Nova Scotia and Cape Breton	1751
MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 13: 1751-1753 H, Nos. 1- 138, Reel B-1025	Original Correspondence – Board of Trade, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton	1751-1753

MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 5, Reel H-1979	Minutes of the Executive Council, Nova Scotia	1752
MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 6, Reel H-1979	Minutes of the Executive Council, Nova Scotia	1753
MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 14: 1753-1754 H, Nos. 139-239, Reel B-1026	Original Correspondence – Board of Trade, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton	1753-1754
MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 15: 1753-1755 H, Reel B-1026	Original Correspondence – Board of Trade, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton	1753-1755
MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 7, Reel H-1979	Minutes of the Executive Council, Nova Scotia	1754
MG 1, Series B, Vol. 99	Lettres envoyées	1754
MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 34: 1754-82, Reel B-1032	Original Correspondence - Secretary of State, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, America and West Indies Vol. 597	1754-1782
MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 8, Reel H-1979	Minutes of the Executive Council, Nova Scotia	1755
MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 8, Reel H-1980	Minutes of the Executive Council, Nova Scotia	1755-1756
MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 16: 1755-1760 I, Reel B-1027	Original Correspondence - Board of Trade Nova Scotia and Cape Breton	1755-1760
MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 9, Reel H-1980	Minutes of the Executive Council, Nova Scotia	1756-1759
MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 17: 1759-1760 K, Reel B-1027	Original Correspondence - Board of Trade Nova Scotia and Cape Breton	1759-1760
MG 1, Series C11A, Vol. 105, Fol. 222-224v, Reel F-105	Colonial Archives – General Correspondence	1760
MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 10, Reel H-1980	Minutes of the Executive Council, Nova Scotia	1760-1761
MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 18: 1760-62 L, Nos. 1-87, Reel B-1028	Original Correspondence - Board of Trade Nova Scotia and Cape Breton	1760-1762

MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 12, Reel H-1980	Minutes of the Executive Council, Nova Scotia	1762-1763
MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 19: 1762-63 L Nos. 88-151, Reel B-1028	Original Correspondence - Board of Trade Nova Scotia and Cape Breton	1762-1763
MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 43: 1762-1765, Reel B-1036	Original Correspondence - Secretary of State, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton	1762-1765
MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 13, Reel H-1980	Minutes of the Executive Council, Nova Scotia	1764-1765
MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 14, Reel H-1980	Minutes of the Executive Council, Nova Scotia	1766-1768
MG 21, Add. MS 19071	Sir Frederick Haldimand Collection	1779-1791
MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 41: 1782 Feb. 6 - 1785 Nov. 30, Reel B-1035	Original Correspondence - Secretary of State, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, Military Despatches, America and West Indies Vol. 31	1782-1785
MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 42: 1785 Dec. 3 - 1786 Aug. 6, Reel B-1035	Original Correspondence - Secretary of State, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, Military Despatches, America and West Indies Vol. 31	1785-1786
MG 25, G 36, Reel M-271	H. Leander D'Entremont Collection	1882-1900
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6453	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Baker Settlement, Sub-District Number – a, Schedule 1.	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Block House, Sub-District Number – c, Schedule 1.	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Blue Rocks, Sub-District Number – d, Schedule 1.	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Bridgewater (east), Sub-District Number – e, Schedule 1.	1901

RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Chester East, Sub-District Number – j, Schedule 1.	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Chester West, Sub-District Number – K, Schedule 1.	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Conquerall Bank, Sub-District Number – l, Schedule 1.	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Cross Roads, Sub-District Number – m, Schedule 1.	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Dublin Shore, Sub-District Number – n, Schedule 1.	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Italy Cross, Sub-District Number – p, Schedule 1.	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Le Have Island, Sub-District Number – q, Schedule 1.	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Lunenburg Town, Sub-District Number – r-1, Schedule 1.	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Lunenburg Town, Sub-District Number – r-2, Schedule 1.	1901

RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Lunenburg Town, Sub-District Number – r-3, Schedule 1.	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Mahone Bay, Sub-District Number – t, Schedule 1.	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Mahone Bay Road, Sub-District Number – s, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Midville Branch, Sub-District Number – t, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Mill Cove, Sub-District Number – w, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – New Cornwall, Sub-District Number – y, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – New Ross, Sub-District Number – z, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Newcombville, Sub-District Number – x, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Northfield, Sub-District Number – a (1), Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Oakland, Sub-District Number – b (1), Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Petite Rivière, Sub-District Number – (c) 1, Schedule 1	1901

RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Pleasantville, Sub-District Number – (d) 1, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Ritchey Cove, Sub-District Number – (e) 1, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Sandy Beaches, Sub-District Number – (f) 1, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Tancook, Sub-District Number – (g) 1, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Upper Le Have, Sub-District Number – (h) 1, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Vogler Cove, Sub-District Number – (i) 1, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Barss Corner, Sub-District Number – b, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Western Shore, Sub-District Number – (j) 1, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Mader Cove, Sub-District Number – s, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – First South, Sub-District Number – o, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Chester Basin, Sub-District Number – I, Schedule 1	1901

RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Bridgewater (south), Sub- District Number – g, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Chesley Corner, Sub-District Number – h, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6454	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Lunenburg, District 37, Sub-District Name – Bridgewater (North), Sub- District Number – f, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6455	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Carleton Village, Sub- District Number – b, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6455	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Clarks Harbour, Sub- District Number – c, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6455	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Clyde River, Sub- District Number – d-2, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6455	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Doctor Cove, Sub- District Number – e, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6455	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Hunts Point, Sub- District Number – x, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6455	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Jordan Bay, Sub- District Number – f, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6455	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Lockeport, Sub-District Number – h, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6455	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – North Cape Island, Sub- District Number – I, Schedule 1	1901

RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6455	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Northeast Harbour, Sub-District Number – j, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6455	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Ohio, Sub-District Number – i, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6455	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Port LaTour, Sub- District Number – i, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6455	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Port Mouton, Sub- District Number – d (1), Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6455	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Ragged Island, Sub- District Number – m, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6455	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Sable Island, Sub- District Number – n-2, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6455	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Sandy Point, Sub- District Number – o, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6455	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Shag Harbour, Sub- District Number – p, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6455	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Woods Harbour, Sub- District Number – r, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6455	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Sable River, Sub- District Number – n, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6455	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Barrington Head, Sub- District Number – a, Schedule 1	1901

RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Beach Meadow, Sub- District Number – s, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Brooklyn, Sub-District Number – u, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Kempt, Sub-District Number – y, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Liverpool, Sub-District Number – z-2, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Liverpool, Sub-District Number – z-3, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Shelburne (town), Sub- District Number – q2, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Port Medway, Sub- District Number – C (1), Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Milton, Sub-District Number – (B1)-1, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Mill Village, Sub- District Number – A1, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Liverpool, Sub-District Number – z-1, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Caledonia, Sub-District Number – v, Schedule 1	1901

RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Shelburne & Queens, District 40, Sub- District Name – Brookfield, Sub-District Number – t, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Arcadia, Sub-District Number – a, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Argyle Head, Sub-District Number – b, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Carleton, Sub-District Number – d, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Chegoggin, Sub-District Number – e, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Eel Brook, Sub-District Number – f, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Hebron, Sub-District Number – h, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – East Pubnico, Sub-District Number – o, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Ohio, Sub-District Number – i, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Kemptville, Sub-District Number – j-1, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Kemptville, Sub-District Number – j-2, Schedule 1	1901

RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Lower Argyle, Sub-District Number – k, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Port Maitland, Sub-District Number – m, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Plymouth, Sub-District Number – n, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Pubnico Head, Sub-District Number – p, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Rockville, Sub-District Number – r, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Tusket Lakes, Sub-District Number – g, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – West Pubnico, Sub-District Number – q, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Yarmouth, Sub-District Number – u-1, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Yarmouth, Sub-District Number – u-2, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Belleville, Sub-District Number – c, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Tusket Wedge, Sub-District Number – t, Schedule 1	1901

RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Tusket, Sub-District Number – s, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6456	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Islands, Sub-District Number – i, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6457	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Yarmouth, Sub-District Number – u-3, Schedule 1	1901
RG 31, Statistics Canada, 1901 Census, Reel T-6457	Province – Nova Scotia, District Name – Yarmouth, District 42, Sub-District Name – Yarmouth, Sub-District Number – u-4, Schedule 1	1901
MG 30, Series D129	Pierre-Georges Roy Fonds	c. 1915- 1933
MG 55/18, no. 60	Notes on the subject of Intermarriage in Early Acadia	n.d.

Vatican Records (Library and Archives Canada)³⁷⁴

Reference	Description	Date
MG17-A25, Reel K-241	Detailed report on the Mission in Acadia.	1656
MG17-A25, Reel K-240	A history of the missions of the Capuchin Order in New England, Virginia and Canada.	1656
MG17-A25, Reel F-179, Vol. 56 (1686), fol. 67rv	Report on the French colony of Chedabucto.	1686
MG17-A25, Reel K-242, Vol. 670 (1731), fol. 248rv-249rv	Document containing a detailed description of Canada. Author has visited Acadia.	1729
MG17-A25, Reel K-239, Vol. 9 (1760-4), fol. 587rv-588rv	Letter regarding a priest who has lived with the natives in Acadia and is "esteemed by them and by the French Acadians"	1765
MG17-A25, Reel K-240, Vol. 137 (1764-81), fol. 25rv-28rv	Detailed inventory of the missions in Ile Royale, Ile St. Jean, Acadia and different parts of what is now New Brunswick.	1764
MG17-A25, Reel K-240, Vol. 137 (1764-81), fol. 43rv-44rv	Document written by former missionaries to Acadia.	1764
MG17-A25, Reel K-236, Vol. 5 (1761-77), fol. 139rv, 141rv	Document regarding the resettlement of 200 Acadian families.	1765

³⁷⁴ These documents are in restricted files. The files were ATIP'd, but were not available at the time of writing. Transcriptions of some documents were found in the Reports of the Public Archives of Canada.

Public Archives of Nova Scotia (PANS)

Reference	Title	Dates
RG 1 vol. 4A, 4B,	Documents relating to Acadians: 1720-1769	1720-1769
RG 1 vol. 341-396, 396A, 396B	Special subjects: 1729-1867, predominant 1749-1867	1729-1867
RG 1 vol. 430	Indians: 1751-1866	1751-1866
RG 1 vol. 134-137,	Letter Books of the governors and provincial secretaries	1752-1791
RG 1, Vol. 346, Microfilm Reel #15414	Thomas Pichon Correspondence, 1753-1755	1753-1755
RG 1, Vol. 357, Microfilm Reel #15427	Colonel John Winslow's Journal, 1755 (transcript)	1755
RG 1, Vol. 358, Microfilm Reel, 15427	Colonel John Winslow's Journal 1755-1756 (transcript)	1755-1756
RG 1, Vol. 284, No. 17	Treaty of Peace and Friendship concluded by the Governor of Nova Scotia with Paul Laurent Chief of the La Have tribe of Indians	1760
RG 20, Series A, Vol. 1	Nova Scotia Land Papers	1765-1784
RG 20, Series A, Vol. 2	Nova Scotia Land Papers	1765-1784
RG 20, Series A, Vol. 3	Nova Scotia Land Papers	1784
RG 20, Series A, Vol. 4	Nova Scotia Land Papers	1784
RG 20, Series A, Vol. 5	Nova Scotia Land Papers	1784
RG 20, Series A, Vol. 17	Nova Scotia Land Papers	1786-1787
RG 20, Series A, Vol. 18	Nova Scotia Land Papers	1786-1787
RG 20, Series A, Vol. 19	Nova Scotia Land Papers	1786-1787
RG 20, Series A, Vol. 20	Nova Scotia Land Papers	1788-1790
RG 20, Series A, Vol. 21	Nova Scotia Land Papers	1788-1790
RG 20, Series A, Vol. 22	Nova Scotia Land Papers	1788-1790
RG 20, Series A, Vol. 22	Nova Scotia Land Papers	1790-1794
RG 20, Series A, Vol. 23	Nova Scotia Land Papers	1790-1794
RG 20, Series A, Vol. 24	Nova Scotia Land Papers	1795-1900
RG 20, Series A, Vol. 25	Nova Scotia Land Papers	1795-1900
RG 1, Vol. 343, Microfilm Reel # 15425	Royal Instructions on the Granting of Land in Nova Scotia, 1807	1807
RG 5 Series P, vol. 83, no. 65	Letter from L. Byrne of French Town, Clare, to the Lt. Gov. for funds to aid the "children of the forest."	1847
	P.S. Hamilton Papers	n.d

MG 1, Vol. 1189a	Journal of Rev. John Payzant in Payzant Family Papers	n.d.
MG 4, Vol. 141	Shelburne County Records	n.d.
MG 15, Vol. 1-4	Ethnic Groups – Indians	n.d.
RG 1, Vol. 341 ½, Microfilm Reel # 15414	Thomas Pichon Documents [17-]	n.d.

Centre for Acadian Studies/Centre d'Études Acadiennes, New Brunswick

Reference	Title	Dates
2. 5-15	Documents et notes sur l'Acadie qui ont servi de base à Une Colonie Féodale	1706, 1708
1. G5, CP5, PL5, F1033 et F1047 Fonds Placide-Gaudet (1850-1930)	1. 5-13 Vaudreuil et Bégon au minister 14 Oct. 1723	1710-1713
1. G5, CP5, PL5, F1033 et F1047 Fonds Placide-Gaudet (1850-1930)	1. 15-17 Duran de Garienne au minister 20 Juillet 1711	1711
1. G5, CP5, PL5, F1033 et F1047 Fonds Placide-Gaudet (1850-1930)	1. 5-19 Lettre de St-Castin aux Acadiens 3 Sept. 1711	1711
1. G5, CP5, PL5, F1033 et F1047 Fonds Placide-Gaudet (1850-1930)	1. 23-10 S.O. de la N-E., Cap-Sable – Déportation 1756	1756
1. G5, CP5, PL5, F1033 et F1047 Fonds Placide-Gaudet (1850-1930)	1. 1-45 Coureurs de bois et contrebande, 1681	1756
2. 11-19, Ouest-Canadien	Ouest-Canadien, Colonisation canadienne-française vers 1850. L'oeuvre de l'abbé Belcourt dans l'ouest	1850-1851?
2. 9-35 St-Castin	St. Castin, Notes biographiques	1877
2. 9-32 Rameau	Rameau, Notes biographiques	1877
2. 9-20, Mercier 1er minister et M. l'Anglais	Mercier 1er minister et M. l'Anglais, Affaires de process, vol. Etc – à Québec	1893?
2. 9-36 Talon	Talon, Mémoire d'outre-tombe – Un arrière petit fils de talon découvre un manuscrit de ce dernier, mémoire d'outre-tombe, où il décrit un voyage du ciel sur terre, en Canada	After 1877
2. 9-21, Métis en Acadie	Métis en Acadie, Études sur ces familles, leurs noms	n.d
2. 9-7, Latour	Latour, famille, Notes généalogiques et historiques	n.d
2. 9-9, LeBlance, Joseph le Maigre		n.d.
2. 9-2, Hébert	Hébert, Études sur cette famille acadienne	n.d.

2. 9-1, Haliburton	Haliburton, Extraits et analyse par Rameau	n.d.
2. 9-3, Indiens	Indiens, Notes sur les Indiens Abénakis et autres	n.d.
2. 9-39 Villieu, de	Villieu, de Note sur son caractère difficile, tire de Beamish	n.d.
2. 9-6 Landry	Landry, famille, Notes généalogiques	n.d.
2. 9-4, Jésuites, leurs propriétés au Canada	Liste des concessions à eux faites – notes historiques sur chacune d'elles	n.d.
2. 9-8, LeBlanc	LeBlanc, famille, Notes généalogiques et historiques	n.d.
2. 9-29, Petitpas, famille	Petitpas, famille, Étude historiques et généalogique	n.d.
1. G5, CP5, PL5, F1033 et F1047 Fonds Placide-Gaudet (1850-1930)	1. 59-10 Les Belliveau de la Baie Ste-Marie	n.d.

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³⁷⁵ The newspapers listed were searched online at www.paperofrecord.com using keyword searches.

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Appendix 2: Index of Documents

Abbreviations

Library and Archives Canada (formerly National Archives of Canada and National Library of Canada)	LAC
National Map Collection	NMC
Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia	PANS

Colonial Office Files

A-001	Report regarding Nova Scotia, 23 June 1713	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 1: 1713, Reel B-1021
A-002	Answers to questions regarding Nova Scotia, 24 November 1714	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 1, A. 28. ff. 97-98, Reel B-1021
A-003	Memorial of Captain Southack, 22 January 1719	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 2, No. B97, Reel B-1022, pp. 252-253
A-004	Presentation of the Governor and Council relating to the State of Nova Scotia, 27 September 1720	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 3: 1718, C34, Reel B-1022
A-005	Refusal of the Acadians of Annapolis River to have their lands surveyed, 11 November 1731	Report of the Canadian Archives for the Year 1905, Vol. 2, pp. 76-77
A-006	Memorial of Paul Mascarene, 12 July 1740	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 2, Reel H-1979, pp. 215-216
A-007	Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Council, 31 July 1740	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 2, Reel H-1979, p. 188
A-008	Letter from the Executive Council to certain Acadians, 2 August 1740	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 2, Reel H-1979, pp. 217-219
A-009	Minutes of a meeting of the Executive	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova

	Council, 2 August 1740	Scotia B Series, Vol. 2, Reel H-1979, pp. 189-192
A-010	Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Council, 4 August 1740	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 2, Reel H-1979, pp. 193-194
A-011	Letter from the Executive Council to certain Acadians, 7 August 1740	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 2, Reel H-1979, pp. 220-222
A-012	Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Council, 19 August 1740	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 2, Reel H-1979, pp. 195-196
A-013	Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Council, 28 December 1744	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 3, Reel H-1979, pp. 117-120
A-014	Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Council, 4 January 1745	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 3, Reel H-1979, pp. 121-126
A-015	Letter and declaration signed by Governor William Shirley, 20 October 1747	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 5, Vol. 901, ff. 243-244, Reel B-6131
A-016	Letter from Col. Cornwallis to the Board of Trade, 7 December 1749	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 9: 1748-50F, Nos. 104, Reel B-1024
A-017	Letter from Col. Cornwallis to the Board of Trade, 4 September 1751	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 13, H7, Reel B-1025
A-018	Letter from Col. Cornwallis to the Board of Trade, 26 May 1753	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 14, H185, Reel B-1026
A-019	Letter from Col. Lawrence to the Board of Trade, 5 December 1753	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 14, H. 235, Reel B-1026
A-020	Letter from Col. Lawrence to the Board of Trade, 1 August 1754	LAC, Series CO 217, Vol. 15, H. 256, ff. 76-97, Reel B-1026
A-021	Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Council, 9 October 1754	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 7, Reel H-1979, pp. 117-120
A-022	Letter from Col. Lawrence to the Board of	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 16,

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	Trade, 3 November 1756	I. 22, Reel B-1027
A-023	Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Council, 29 June 1759	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 9, Reel H-1980, pp. 199-200
A-024	Letter from Col. Lawrence to the Board of Trade, 3 November 1759	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 17, K.2, ff. 1-3, Reel B-1027
A-025	Opinion of the Executive Council, 14 April 1761	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 18, L. 44, Reel B-1027
A-026	Letter from William Nesbitt to Jonathon Belcher, 26 July 1762	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 43, Reel C-1036
A-027	Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Council, 26 July 1762	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 12, Reel H-1980, pp. 51-56
A-028	Letter from Governor Wilmot to the Earl of Halifax, 22 March 1764	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 43, No. 12, Reel B-1036
A-029	Report by W. Blair to the King, 11 July 1764	Report of the Canadian Archives for the Year 1905, Vol. 2, pp. 210-211
A-030	Report on the lands assigned to Acadians in Nova Scotia, 9 November 1764	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 217, Vol. 43, Reel B-1036, pp. 215-216
A-031	Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Council, 5 October 1767	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 14, Reel H-1980, pp. 163-164
A-032	Letter from Legge to Dartmouth, 24 may 1774	Report of the Canadian Archives for the Year 1905, Vol. 2, pp. 231-232
A-033	Letter from Legge to Dartmouth, 20 August 1774	Report of the Canadian Archives for the Year 1905, Vol. 2, pp. 231-234
A-034	Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Council (N.D.)	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 10, Reel H-1980, pp. 165-170
A-035	Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Council (N.D.)	LAC, MG 11, Series CO 220, Nova Scotia B Series, Vol. 2, Reel H-1979, pp. 213-214

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B-001	Acadie Recensements 1671-1752	LAC, MG 1, Series C11G, Vol. 466, pt. 1
B-002	Record of baptism of Jeanne Guidry, 1681	LAC, MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 1, Reel C-3021, p. 8
B-003	Parish Register containing baptism records of Francois Viger, Paul Guedry, Joseph Le Jeune and Paul & Martin Le Jeune, 1705	LAC, MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 24-1, Reel C-1869, pp. 64-67
B-004	Record of the marriage of Claude Le Jeune & Anne Marie Godet, 1705	LAC, MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 24-1, Reel C-1869, p. 537
B-005	Record of the death of Jean Belliveaux Le Jeune, 1707	LAC, MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 24-3, Reel C-1870, p. 634
B-006	Acadia Census 1708	LAC, MG 18, File 18
B-007	Record of the marriage of Jean Comeau and Katherine Joseph, 1720	LAC, MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 24-1, Reel C-1869, p. 607
B-008	Record of the marriages of Francois Pisnay & Mary Magdalane Chegan and Pierre Cheg8eau & Margarite Baptiste, June 1726	LAC, MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 24-1, Reel C-1869, pp. 494-495
B-009	Extract of the register concerning the marriage of Bogard de la Noüe & Marguerite Guedry, 17 February 1755	LAC, MG 1, Series F3, Vol. 50, Reel C-10531, pp. 360-387
B-010	Enumeration of Acadian families 1771	LAC, MG 21, Add. Mss. 19071, f. 125, Reel C-11964
B-011	Enumeration of Acadian families 1790	LAC, MG 21, Add. Mss. 19071, f. 127, Reel C-11964
B-012	Record of the marriage of Pierre Le Jeune & Jeanne Benoit (N.D.)	LAC, MG 9, Series B8, Vol. 12-3, Reel C-1869, p. 20

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C-001	Memoir of Governor Meneval at Port Royal, 1 September 1689	LAC, MG 1, Series C11D, Vol. 3, Reel C-11359, pp. 275-300
C-002	Letter from Governor Villebon to the Minister, 3 June 1698	LAC, MG 1, Series C11D, Vol. 3, Folio 104-114
C-003	Extract of letter from Governor Subercase to the Minister, 26 June 1707	LAC, MG 1, Series C11D, Vol. 6, Folio 19-32v
C-004	Extract of Journal of M. Barraith, Copy of a letter from Subercase, 10 October 1707	LAC, MG 1, Series C11D, Vol. 6, ff. 126v-127, Reel F-173
C-005	Extract of Journal of M. Barraith, copy of letter from Barraith to Subercase, 13 October 1707	LAC, MG 1, Series C11D, Vol. 6, ff. 125-126, Reel F-173
C-006	Memorial of Subercase, 1708	LAC, MG 1, Series C11D, Vol. 6, ff. 140-141v, Reel F-173
C-007	Memorandum respecting the missions to the Mi'kmaq Indians and Acadia, 1715	LAC, MG1, Series C11B, Vol. 1, ff. 249-254, Reel F-129
C-008	Report of Beauharnois & Hocquart to County de Maurepas, 12 September 1745	O'Callaghan, Ed., <i>Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York</i> . Albany, 1855, pp 3-19.
C-009	Letter from the Minister to de Drucot and de Prévost, 1 July 1754	LAC, Series B, Vol. 99, ff. 26-27, Reel F-302
C-010	Letter from William Cotterell, Secretary, to Col. Sutherland, 24 August 1754	PANS, RG 1, Vol. 134, No. 212
C-011	Orders to Col. Monckton, 24 August 1758	LAC, MG 21, Add. Mss. 19073, ff. 56-57
C-012	Petition of the Acadians of Cape Sable, 15 September 1758	LAC, MG 21, Add. Mss. 19073, ff. 59-60
C-013	Letter from Thos. Pownall, 2 January 1759	LAC, MG 21, Add. Mss. 19073, ff. 59
C-014	Letter from Amherst to Lawrence, 29 May 1759	LAC, MG 21, Add. Mss. 19073, ff. 61-63
C-015	Letter from M. Bazagier, Acting	LAC, MG 1, Series C11A, Vol. 105,

Commissary, Restigouche, to the
Minister, 17 September 1760

Fol. 223v-224v, Reel. F-105

C-016 Letter from M. Bazagier, Acting
Commissary, Restigouche, to the Minister
(transcript), 17 September 1760

LAC, MG 1, Series C11A, Vol. 105,
Reel. C-2402, pp. 407-417

Treaties

D-001 Treaty of Peace and Friendship, March
1760

PANS, RG 1, Vol. 284, No. 17

Occupation of the Colony

E-001 A Brief Survey of Nova Scotia, 1748

LAC, MG 18, File 10

E-002 Description of Acadie, 1748

LAC, MG 1, Series C11A, Vol. 87, Fol.
363-364v

E-003 Description of La Have, (N.D.)

LAC, MG 1, Series C11D, Vol. 3, Reel
C-11359, pp. 124-125

E-004 Account of the Acadians and Indian
Tribes of Nova Scotia, (N.D.)

LAC, MG 21, Add. Mss. 19071, ff. 259-
263v, Reel C-11964

Notes of Edmé de Rameau de St. Père

F-001 1891

Centre d'Études Acadiennes, New
Brunswick, 2. 11-19 Ouest Canadien

Maps

G-001 Map of New France (Samuel de
Champlain), 1607

NMC 9850

Southern Nova Scotia Mixed European-Indian Ancestry Project

Discussion Draft

G-002	Map of Acadia, Cape Breton & the St. Lawrence (Nicholas Denys), 1672	NMC 108
G-003	Chart of Nova Scotia and Southern New Brunswick (Cyprian Southack), [1729-1734?]	NMC 134124
G-004	Plan of Lunenburg Harbour in Nova Scotia, 1753	NMC 18407
G-005	Chart of the Peninsula of Nova Scotia (Charles Morris), 1755	NMC 168